

EDITOR'S NOTE FP: MW 361–406. Text based on the AMS (JHL), dated 17 July 1930. Perhaps the most literarily impressive of HPL's travelogues—a document that not only records the overwhelming impression Charleston made upon him (he came to rank it second only to Providence as his favourite among cities—largely because, in spite of its warmer climate, its architecture is strikingly similar to that of colonial Providence), but also underscores many of his sociopolitical principles (continuity with the past, detestation of modern-day speed, bustle, and conformity, social and intellectual aristocracy, and the like). Like some of the other travelogues, it is marred by touches of crude racism and social snobbery. Because the text exists only in manuscript, HPL does not seem to have circulated it among his colleagues. He did, however, condense it (and remove some of its most piquant features, notably its eighteenth-century diction) in a letter to H. C. Koenig (later revised as an essay), published as *Charleston* (see p. 261). Most of HPL's account of Charleston history was probably derived from local histories and contemporary guidebooks (see nn. 6–7), which provided dates for the houses and other structures HPL describes. Some of the dates have since been somewhat revised, but no effort is made here to correct HPL's errors (or his sources'). Most of the structures HPL saw still exist, but a few have been destroyed. On subsequent trips to the South HPL would return as often as possible (he visited the city again in 1931, 1934, and 1935).

Notes

1. Samuel Galliard Stoney, "Foreword" to *The Octagon Library of Early American Architecture: Volume I—Charleston, South Carolina*, ed. Albert Simons and Samuel Lapham (New York: Press of the American Institute of Architects, Inc., 1927; rpt. 1970), n.p.
2. Mrs St Julien (Harriott Horry) Ravenel (1832–1912), *Charleston: The Place and the People* (1906). Arthur Mazzyk (1850–1914), *Guide to Charleston Illustrated* (1875).
3. Jedidiah Morse (1761–1826), *Geography Made Easy* (1784; rpt. Boston: I. Thomas & E. T. Andrews, 1796), p. 244. HPL misdated the book because he owned an 8th ed. (Boston: I. Thomas & E. T. Andrews, 1802; LL 626). He also owned a 19th ed. (1818; LL 627).
4. HPL refers to Ben Hecht's avant-garde novel *Erik Dom* (1921). In a 1927 letter HPL notes: "You can get a fairly good bird's-eye view of literary modernism by reading Ben Hecht's 'Erik Dom' for prose, and T. S. Eliot's 'The Waste Land' for what purports to be verse" (SL 2.96).
5. Anne O'Hare McCormick, "The South: Cities Astride the Centuries," *New York Times Magazine* (22 June 1930): 23.
6. François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848), *Atala* (1801), a romance based in large part upon a visit that Chateaubriand had taken to wild and uninhabited regions of the American continent. HPL notes that Chateaubriand also made use of the bluffs of Natchez, Miss., in his novel (see SL 4.41).
7. *What to See—Where to Go in Historic Charleston* (Savannah, GA: W. W. De Renne, 1929).
8. Miriam Bellangee Wilson, *Street Strolls Around Charleston, South Carolina* ([Charleston, 1930]). Later editions (e.g., the 5th ed. of 1946) are considerably expanded and revised.
9. An allusion to James F. Morton.
10. Joseph Johnson (1776–1862), *Traditions and Reminiscences, Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South* (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851).
11. DuBose Heyward (1885–1940), *Porgy* (1925). Heyward and his wife, Dorothy Heyward, later turned the novel into a play (produced 1927); George Gershwin then wrote an opera based upon it, *Porgy and Bess* (1935). HPL cites the opera in "Charleston" (p. 271).
12. Owen Wister (1860–1938), *Lady Baltimore* (1906), a humorous love story set in Charleston.
13. On the significance of this phrase see W. Paul Cook's memoir (1941; LR 137).

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF QUEBECK IN NEW-FRANCE, LATELY ADDED TO HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY'S DOMINIONS

By H. Lovecraft, *Armiger*,
of
Providence, in New-England.

Design'd for the Information of the Curious, and for the Guiding of Travellers from His Majesty's New-England and other American Provinces. To which is added, an historical Account of New-France.

With Designs and Maps Illustrative of the Text

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PROVIDENCE, in RHODE-ISLAND
Printed by John Carter at Shakespear's-Head in King-street

MDCCCCXXXI.



A DESCRIPTION OF THE
TOWN OF
QUEBECK, IN *New-France*,
Lately added to His Britannick Majesty's Dominions.
BY H. LOVECRAFT, *Armiger*,
of
Providence, in New-England.

BOOK I. An Historical Account of *Quebeck*, and of *New-France*.

(A) Founding and Establishment of *New-France*

The antient wall'd city of *Quebeck*, in *North-America*, is not only the oldest surviving town upon that continent north of *New-Spain*, but is of all such towns the most retentive of its early aspect. It lyes on a promontory on the north bank of the River *St. Lawrence*; forming a small peninsula with the *St. Lawrence* on the south and east sides, and the confluent River *St. Charles* on the north. Most of this peninsula is a very lofty table-land, rising above a narrow shoar strip in the sheer cliffs of rock. The table-land itself is uneven, having a tendency to slope downwards from the south toward the north, and possessing as its highest point a bold headland on the southern side, near the tip of the peninsula, call'd *Cape-Diamond*. The average height of the cliffs is about 300 feet; corresponding cliffs existing on the other side of the river, where the town of *Lévis* is situate.

The latitude of *Quebeck* is $46^{\circ} 48' 23''$ N., and its longitude is $71^{\circ} 12' 23''$ W. It is 400 miles from the Gulph of *St. Lawrence*, into which the river empties, and is 180 miles below the metropolis of *Montreal*. It is about 400 miles north of *Boston*, in *New-England*, and a little over that from *Providence*, as coach-routes are reckon'd. The climate is not thought inclement by those of hardy tastes, tho' the temperature falls as low as -30° in winter. The summers are nearly as warm as those of *New-England*, the temperature often rising to 94° . This peninsula was antiently the site of an Indian village call'd *Stadacona*; the name *Quebeck* (notwithstanding some fanciful false etymologies often advanc'd) being an Indian word signifying a narrow place in the river, since the *St. Lawrence* is here narrower than at any other neighbouring place. The generall regional name of *Canada* is the Indian for "a collection of huts".

The history of *Quebeck* is closely bound up with that of *New-France* as a whole, insomuch as it was the chief town and seat of governance of the region under both French and English authority till the year 1865, and is still the local capital of the Province of *Quebeck*. Along its coast, *New-France* was first seen by the early Northmen, and first in historick times by John Cabot, a Venetian under His Britannick Majesty's flag, in 1497. It was likewise glimpsed by the Portugese Cortereal in 1501, by the Por-

tugese Fagundes in 1520, by Verrazano (that Italian in the French King's pay who first saw *Rhode-Island*) in 1524, and by His Britannick Majesty's naval officer John Rut in 1527. None of these explorers, however, saw the *St. Lawrence River*; which continued to be undiscover'd notwithstanding the increasing presence of fishing-boats from Europe off the Great Banks. The discovery of the Gulph and River of *St. Lawrence* was accomplit in 1534 by the celebrated Jacques Quartier (commonly known as Cartier) of *St. Malo* in *Britanny*, acting under the orders of the French King. Capt. Cartier erected, upon the Gaspé peninsula at the mouth of the river, a cross thirty feet high bearing the shield and lilies of France, and with the inscription *Vive le Roy de France*. This form'd the formal seizure of the territory in the French King's name, tho' curious Indians were assur'd it was no more than the setting of a mark for navigators. Jacques Cartier is justly to be reckon'd the real discoverer of *New-France*, and the first of that line of illustrious Gallick pioneers whose exploits are so well told, for the instruction and entertainment of youth, in the novels of the late Henry Everett McNeil, Esq.¹

In the year 1535, on a second expedition of three vessels, Jacques Cartier first sail'd up the *St. Lawrence* and beheld the site of *Quebeck*, being thus the undisputed white discoverer of that spot. Here, at the Indian village of *Stadacona*, whose chieftain Donnacona he found friendly, he left his two larger ships whilst he explored the river's upper reaches in the smallest. It was upon this inland voyage that he beheld and nam'd the island and hill of *Mont-Real*. Capt. Cartier spent the winter at *Stadacona* on the banks of the *St. Charles* at the junction with the river *Lorette*, in the present suburb of *Limoilou*; but lost so many men from scurvy that he cou'd man only two ships on his return to Europe in the spring. In 1541 Cartier again visited *New-France*, sail'd to *Montreal*, and winter'd at *Cap Rouge*, just above *Quebec*; this time under the orders of Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, who had been appointed by the King as Viceroy of the new land. He return'd home, however, before de Roberval himself arriv'd. The purpose of Cartier himself, like that of the earlier American explorers and many later ones, was merely to find a sea-passage to Asia; a widespread attitude reflected in the ironick naming of the explorer La Salle's seigneurie above *Montreal*, which was called *La Chine*, the French name for China. De Roberval, however, had a design to found a colony; and upon his voyage brought out a load of convicts whom he try'd to settle, in 1542, at *Cap Rouge* (so call'd from its reddish hue, due to oxide of iron). This colony did not last above a year; scurvy, cold weather, and disorder working the most extream havock with it. Many men were hang'd or imprison'd, and the rest were sent back to France in the autumn of 1543. De Roberval, having return'd with them, was later kill'd in a nocturnal street fight in Paris.

From that time till the opening of the seventeenth century, no attempt was made to colonise *New-France*; tho' fishermen and explorers continu'd to frequent it. The government of France was kept busy with religious wars, hence had no time to think of colonies till the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. In that year the Marquis de la Roche, of *Brittany*, made an unsuccessful attempt to colonise the *Isle de Sable*, off the *Nova Scotian* coast, with some convicts; whilst in 1600, the fur-trading advantages of *New-France* being made manifest, there began that long series of settlements by royally-granted commercial monopolies which was to lay the permanent structure of the colony. These monopolies, and the colonising enterprises associated with them, were not unlike those of the Dutch and English which settled many of the regions to the southward. In 1600, after the manifest failure of de la Roche, a fur-trading monopoly was granted jointly to Pierre Chauvin, an Huguenot merchant of *Honfleur*, and to François Gragé, Sieur du Pont, a maritime gentleman of *St. Malo*. These traders receiv'd

their grant on condition of their bringing to New-France not less than fifty colonists per year; a thing which M. Chauvin sought to carry out by establishing a settlement of sixteen men at Tadoussac, on the St. Lawrence below Quebec, at the mouth of the grim, gorge-like tributary River Saguenay. Most of these men perished the first winter, and M. Chauvin himself dy'd in 1602. In 1603 the monopoly was transferr'd to a group of maritime merchants under Sieur de Chaste, governor of Dieppe, to whom upon his death in 1604 succeeded the celebrated Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, an Huguenot gentleman holding the governorship of Pons, in Saintonge. De Monts was given a fur monopoly of ten years, but under harder conditions than those formerly impos'd; it being obligatory for him to bring out a full hundred colonists per year, leaving a thousand in the future settlement at the end of the ten-year arrangement.

In April, 1604, De Monts sett sail from Havre, having with him the later illustrious Samuel de Champlain as Geographer Royal, and being follow'd by other vessels bearing many gentlemen of importance, including Gravé, Sieur du Pont—commonly known in history as Pont-Gravé—and two years later by the attorney Marc Lescarbot, who in 1609 writ the history of the enterprise. The spot chosen for settlement was that seaboard region call'd, thro' affectionate classicism, Acadia, or Acadie; and at the advice of Champlain the actual town site was an island at the mouth of the River St. Croix, within the present limits of Maine, in New-England. De Monts may thus with justice be call'd the first white settler, builder of houses, and planter of grain, in New-England; even tho' his colony was not fated to survive, and tho' it was not part of that continuous New-England fabrick which has pass'd into history. In June, 1604, 79 settlers of an heterogeneous sort, both Huguenots and Papists, were landed on the island, and severall houses were built within a palisado. Grain was planted both on the island and on the neighbouring (Maine) mainland, but the soil was found poor, scurvy prevalent, and the colonists turbulent and unmanageable. Of the 79 men only 44 remained alive in the following spring, and in that year of 1605 the settlement was transferr'd to the opposite shoar of the Bay of Fundy, forming that *Port-Royal* (now Annapolis, N.S.) which was (with an interruption which, like that of Tadoussac, prevents it from dethroning Quebec as the oldest continuously settled town) destined to survive and have an eventful history. The ruins of De Monts's settlement were discover'd in 1798 by commissioners negotiating a boundary betwixt Maine and New-Brunswick, and are today mark'd by a tablet put up in 1904, at the tercentenary of the short-lived settlement. The island has been at times the seat of residences, but now holds only a lighthouse belonging to the U. S. government. It is but 900 × 125 feet in dimensions, and is now known as Dockel's Island. Port Royal had actually been settled and named by De Monts's associate, Baron de Poutrincourt, almost as soon as the St. Croix island. In 1606 a new lot of settlers came out under de Poutrincourt's auspices; but in September, 1607, the bulk of the colony return'd to France, and in 1608 de Monts's trading monopoly was revok'd. Enough colonists remain'd, however, (under the direction of Lescarbot) to keep it nominally alive; tho' very few new settlers came out. The final end of the enterprise came in 1612, when a party from His Britannick Majesty's new Dominion of Virginia, under the buccaneer Samuel Argall, wiped it out in the course of a raid made to assert Great-Britain's right to the country by virtue of John Cabot's discovery in 1497. The party of Argall likewise destroy'd the abandon'd buildings of De Monts's first colony on the island in the St. Croix. Of all the men connected with the enterprise, Champlain is the most notable. He had been to New-France in 1603 under De Chaste's auspices, and during his period at St. Croix and Port Royal he made voyages down the coast of New-England, accurately charting all the harbours as far south as Plymouth.

In 1608 Samuel de Champlain, under the auspices of de Monts, founded the town of *Quebeck*. De Monts having chosen the St. Lawrence region for his next venture—a venture undertaken under competitive conditions since his fur monopoly was rescinded—Champlain push'd up the river beyond Tadoussac and establish'd his trading post at the narrow place where Cartier had found the Indian village of Stadacona. On the narrow shoar betwixt the St. Lawrence and the cliff at the easterly tip of the bold peninsula he settled himself and his crew in a well-built and habitable fort which he called *L'Abitation de Quebecq*. Tho' more a post or garrison than a true colony, its success caus'd it to remain; even in spite of the fact that the competition of other fur traders had to be met by de Monts. Champlain was in charge of the post, and in 1613 he succeeded in getting a new monopoly—in his own name—for a company he had organised. This company lasted till 1620, after which time a new company headed by the Huguenot brothers Caën and having Champlain's participation, took over the monopoly; conducting affairs till 1627, when Cardinal Richelieu intervened with ambitious designs of his own.

The permanency and success of the Quebec settlement are without doubt largely due to the genius and sagacity of Sieur de Champlain. Profiting by the failure of De Monts's other enterprises, and perceiving the need of a potent agent at the French King's court, he conceiv'd the idea of persuading a member of the royal family, the Comte de Soissons, to assume the flattering-sounding post of Lieutenant-Governor or Viceroy. The good effect of this scheme is to be judg'd from the fact that after Comte de Soissons's death Champlain persuaded Prince de Condé to become his viceregal successor, he being follow'd successively by the Ducs de Montmorency and de Ventadour. These viceroys receiv'd a rich share of the fur profits; their honorary position being so lucrative that Duc de Montmorency pay'd the sum of 11,000 crowns to secure his appointment. In the mean time M. de Champlain continu'd to be the actual ruler of the colony, under the title of Commandant. He steadily resided at Quebec and perform'd prodigies of industry and valour in the service of his settlement. His explorations, made mostly in an effort to find a water route to Asia, are attested by the lake which bears his name; and there is little reason to question that judgment of posterity which honours his memory and accords him the title of "Father of New-France". Errors of judgment he indeed made, but these are more than overshadow'd by his solid achievements. In 1613 Champlain sail'd far up the Ottawa River, and 1615 made a long tour which finally tapped the present province of New-York. Also in 1615 he sent his associate, Étienne Brûlé, on a southward trip of discovery which reach'd as far as Chesapeake Bay. Brûlé also discovered the copper mines of Lake Superior.

The first colonists of Quebec, being sailors and traders instead of an assemblage of convicts as in many previous cases, were well calculated to secure its survival. Sieur de Champlain, being a Catholick of almost fanatical piety and austerity, early conceiv'd the notion of Christianising the redskin salvages, albeit in a fashion less sanguinary than that practic'd by the Conquistadores in New-Spain. In accordance with this plan he invited into the colony some friars of the Recollet order, four of whom came in 1615, and others at a later date. One of them accompany'd him on his longest expedition inland, and all were soon active in the propagation of their faith. From this time on, we behold the growth of that extream priestly domination which has ever been typical of Quebec; and which has proved both useful as an influence toward coherence and conservatism, and hurtful as a barrier against intellectual expansion. In 1625 there began to arrive members of the powerful and arrogant Jesuit order, who soon displac'd the Recollets and became a paramount influence in Canada. They made of

Quebeck as much of a mission station as a trading post, and furnish'd those incredibly valiant priestly martyrs whom the Popish church hath lately rais'd to the rank of Saints. The first church in Quebeck was built by Champlain in 1615, close to the *Abitation*; it being but a small chapel.

As an actual colony the growth of Quebeck was relatively slow. The *Abitation* on the shoar in the lee of the cliff consisted of several buildings within a palisado, including the moated "castle" or residence of Champlain himself. The houses seem to have been of the old peaked Gothick sort, with lozenge-paned windows, and with certain French details distinguishing them from the first houses in Virginia and New-England. Of this group of structures no trace now remains, and some doubt exists as to their exact site. It may be said, roughly, that they stood at that point where the short Rue Sous le Fort meets the shoar. They were destroy'd by military operations in 1629, together with the chapel close by which Champlain had built in 1615.

Up to 1617 the population had consisted wholly of traders and priests; but in that year, persuaded by the far-seeing Champlain, there arriv'd the first genuine settler with his family and with the design of prosecuting an agricultural career. This pioneer, to whom a monument is erected, and whose descendants all harbour a just pride, was one Louis Hébert, an apothecary of Paris, who had gone to Acadia in 1606 and whose interest in herbs turn'd him naturally to husbandry. His transference to Quebec, and settlement on the top of the great cliff just above the *Abitation*, was a great event for the colony; and upon the granting of lands to him (on the present site of Laval University, the Basilica, the Seminary, and the houses in Rues Couillard and Hébert) he became the first Seigneur of New-France. The wife of Hébert, Marie Rollet, was the first teacher of children in Quebec; whilst his son-in-law, Guillaume Couillard, was the first to exercise actual tillage of the soil. It is interesting to observe that at the present day—many of the French having penetrated southward into New-England—the junior senator from Rhode-Island to the Federal Congress at Washington is M. Felix Hébert, a scion of this antient line. It may be claim'd with justice, in view of Louis Hébert's migration to Port Royal in 1606, that this is the oldest white family in America north of New-Spain.

In 1620 Champlain (after another experiment on the cliff where the ramparts now are) began constructing a fort and residence, call'd Ft. St. Louis, on the top of the cliff, not far from the edge overlooking the *Abitation*. Within this fort, in 1647, a later governor (Montmagny) built the celebrated castle, Château St. Louis. From the two nuclei—the *Abitation* on the low-lying shoar and the fortress on the lofty table-land near the agricultural acres of Louis Hébert—grew respectively the *Lower Town* and *Upper Town* of the later city of Quebeck. The site of Fort St. Louis is now occupy'd by that sumptuous hostelry, the *Château-Frontenac*, whilst the edge of the cliff at this point is made into that celebrated and magnificent rail'd promenade, *Dufferin Terrace*, (nam'd for one of His Britannick Maj^{ty's} governors in the nineteenth century) from which is obtainable one of the finest landskip vistas in all the world—an unparallel'd panorama of lower town, river, distant shoars and cliffs, and remote mountains. Also in 1620 was built the first monastery of the Recollet Fathers, who were a branch of the Franciscan Order. This edifice (bought in 1683 by Bishop St. Valier as an hospital to be conducted by the Nuns of the Hôtel Dieu—an hospital which still survives as the General Hospital) was rear'd on the banks of the River St. Charles, a long way from the earlier settlements, at a site where Champlain had a temporary design of building a city to be call'd *Louisville*. This site now lies at the edge of the St. Sauveur district, at the foot of the Boulevard Langelier, just across the river from Victoria Park. The Jesuits built their fine college (anteceding Harvard by a close margin as first seat of higher learning in North-America) on

the cliff near the fort in 1635,² the antient building surviving till 1878, when it was most regrettably pull'd down to make way for a City Hall—which was not, however, built till considerably later. The Ursuline order of Nuns, together with some nuns of the order of the Hospitalières, came to Quebeck under the leadership of Mme. de la Peltrie in 1639, being first lodg'd in a private house in the lower-town market place near the site of the *Abitation*, but in 1641 founding a convent in the Upper Town near the fort, where it still remains. Their first and second edifices were destroy'd by fire, but the third one, erected in 1686, remains in good preservation. The first church in Quebeck, as previously mention'd, was the small chapel in the lower town near the *Abitation*,* built in 1615 by Champlain, and burnt in 1629 in a war with His Britannick Majesty, when our naval forces under Sir David Kirke held the town for a time. Upon the return of Quebeck to the French in 1632, Champlain prepar'd to fulfil a vow by building another church; this one in the upper town near the fort, and to be call'd Notre-Dame de Recouvrance in honour of the recovery of the colony. This he did in the following year; the structure being burnt in 1640, and the site serving in 1647 for the erection of the Parish Church of Notre-Dame, which with many additions, alterations, and restorations has become the present celebrated Basilica or Cathedral.

During the lifetime of Champlain the fur-trade of New-France became very important, tho' the growth of population was slow. An event of ill omen to the French power was the involvement of the colony in the prevailing Indian wars, in which the Hurons and Algonquins† of the Canadian region were ally'd against the powerful and warlike Iroquois or Five Nations of the region later the Province of New-York. In this matter the diplomacy of Sieur de Champlain may well be call'd into question; for without adequate necessity (as most look upon it—tho' some choice between the tribes was doubtless needful, and in this case the nearer faction would naturally be selected) he accompany'd the Hurons in three war-raids on the Iroquois, in 1609, 1610, and 1615; in each case defeating the foe through the use of firearms, then novel to America, but sowing the seeds for a deadly and vindictive Iroquois hatred of the French. This hatred was to result in a never-ceasing hostility of the Iroquois toward New-France; first manifested in sanguinary raids after the Five Nations secur'd firearms for themselves from the Dutch of New-Netherland, and later bearing momentous fruit in the staunch alliance of the Iroquois with His Britannick Majesty's forces after our settlement of New-England, New-York, and the regions southward, and the consequent birth of a relentless finish [sic] struggle betwixt English and French for the mastery of this continent. The Iroquois reprisals first took place against their old Huron foes, together with such French outposts and missions as existed among them. In 1649 they nearly extirpated the Hurons; driving some survivors toward the Detroit region, where they became known as the Wyandots, whilst the residue accepted the protection of the French; encamping for a time on the Place d'Armes in Quebeck's upper town near the fort, and eventually being establish'd in a village call'd Lorette, on the St. Charles River eight miles from Quebeck, where they remain to this day. The protection extended by the French made the Hurons their perpetually grateful allies; so that they acted as a foil to the English-allied Iroquois in the struggles to come. Many of the Indians involv'd in

*Probable site—cor. Rue Sous-le-Fort and Petit-Champlain.

†The Hurons were of the same Stock and Language as the Iroquois, this being the most powerful and superior Indian Race in North-America. The Algonquins were of that less develop'd Stock which our English Forefathers found in New-England.

the sanguinary French raids upon our settlements—Schenectady, Salmon Falls, Haverhill, Deerfield—were Hurons; though some, like the Schenectady raid, involv'd Iroquois who had been Christianis'd by the French, whilst others included the Algonquin tribes of Canada and New-England.

(B) The Company of 100 Associates

In the year 1627, Cardinal Richelieu having acquir'd ascendancy in France, the fur-trading charter of the brothers Caën was revok'd; and a new monopoly set up under the auspices of the royal court. This "Company of New-France", or "Company of One Hundred Associates", formed on the model of such things as the East India Co., the Virginia Co., the Dutch East-India Co., and so on, consisted largely of great Paris merchants, and was much better organis'd than any which had preceded it. Richelieu himself bought the Vice-Royalty of New-France, and allotted that region to the company under feudal tenure, with a right of sub-granting seigniories. In exchange for a permanent monopoly of the fur-trade, and a fifteen-year monopoly of all other colony trade, the company was requir'd to bring to New-France some 200 or 300 men of all trades within a year, and 4000 persons of both sexes during the next fifteen years. Only Roman Catholics cou'd be brought to the colony; a highly unfortunate condition which excluded the fine Huguenot material later emigrating to Rhode-Island, New-York, and South-Carolina, and lay'd the foundations for a popish bigotry and ecclesiasticism often hurtful to the region's progress. The insistence on colonists was a wise one, and help'd greatly to make of Quebec a real town instead of a meer trading and missionary post. That growth was not swifter was due to the policy of the company, who did not wish a large population to drive off the fur-bearing animals and aggravate the problems of pelt-gathering. It is to be noted, that this hostility of fur-trading companies to a settled population remain'd for more than two centuries a bar to Canadian growth under French and British rule alike. Even in recent Dominion days the influence of the Hudson's Bay Company was thrown against the colonisation of the great prairie region now forming the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. It seems an universal truth, prov'd by the experience of all colonising nations, that trade monopolies do not promote the growth of that solid settlement needful for provincial progress. Under the Company of New-France, the King appointed a governor nominated by the company, approving him at triennial intervals. No baronies, or any holding greater than a seigniority, cou'd be created but by consent of the Crown. To the post of Governor, Samuel de Champlain was very justly appointed, nor did he leave office till his death in 1635.

In 1629 the rule of Sieur de Champlain was interrupted by the rigours of invasion; France being at war with His Britannick Maj'ty during this period. Our fleet, commanded by Sir David Kirke, had the year before conquer'd the French settlements in Acadia; to which His Majesty had not ceas'd to lay claim, and which had in 1621 been granted to the Scotsman Sir W. Alexander, under the name of Nova-Scotia. Now, in the summer of 1629, Sir David enter'd the St. Lawrence and on July 16 forc'd the surrender of Quebec, where Champlain had but an hundred men. During the trouble much of the lower town was unfortunately burnt, including the original *Abitation* and the chapel built in 1615. Champlain, returning to Europe, found that peace had been declar'd before the capture; and persuaded the French government to insist on the restoration of Quebec to France in the ensuing treaty negotiations. This being carry'd out, Quebec return'd to the French rule in 1632; Champlain resuming his post and building the chapel of Notre Dame de Recouvrance in the upper town in honour of the event. The town had suffer'd greatly from the war, and from the scarcity of good colo-

nists sent out. The peril of the Iroquois remain'd acute, and Champlain was a prey to continual worry. On Christmas Day, 1635, he succumb'd to paralysis; sincerely mourn'd by all who had known him and his work, and assur'd of a place in history as one of the few supreme pioneers of the North-American continent. A gentleman of distinguish'd ability and untarnish'd virtue, 'tis a pity Samuel de Champlain cou'd not have been an Englishman and a Protestant.

As governor of New-France, Champlain was succeeded by Charles Jacques de Montmagny;³ the Indian translation of whose name—*Onontio*, or the Great Mountain,—became the common word amongst the salvages to designate the French King's governing agent, as the name of *Caesar* became a common word in Europe for any sort of Emperour. In 1633 a fresh settlement had been made up-stream at Three Rivers. Under Montmagny the colony was further extended by the founding of a town at Hochelaga, or Montreal, by Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve. This, despite the later growth of Montreal as a fur-trading post, was an enterprise undertaken for the purpose of converting the salvages to Christianity; and involv'd the establishment of an hospital and mission station. Maisonneuve, and his association of gentlemen under the auspices of the Sulpician friars, were in 1642 granted the isle of Montreal under the peculiar mediaeval condition of *frank-almoigne*, whereby the proprietors were obligated, in exchange for the tenure, to offer up prayers for the souls of the donors and their heirs. Against the advice of Montmagny, who realis'd the exposed position of Montreal and the constant peril of the Iroquois, Maisonneuve settled on the island in May, 1642, with a band of pious men and women who at once offer'd up a mass. True to prophecy, the new settlement was repeatedly beset by Iroquois; and in 1660 was sav'd only through the Thermopylae-like⁴ sacrifice of a band under Adam Dollard Sieur des Ormeaux, who held the Ottawa Valley at the cost of being slain to the last man. In the end, however, it flourish'd, and became the chief town of Canada. After the accession of Montmagny, the governor gen'l at Quebec became a less absolute figure; local governors to act under him being appointed at Three Rivers and—after 1644—at Montreal. In the latter case, where the Sulpicians receiv'd authority to select their own local governor, distance from Quebec made the latter official a well-nigh independent ruler. With great appropriateness, Sieur de Maisonneuve receiv'd this post. In 1647 the governor of Quebec was supplemented by a consultative council consisting of the ex-governor, when there was one, the Superior of the local Jesuit order, and two of the general inhabitants. Fur profits, at first good, declin'd after a time; trade finally getting into the hands of a dishonest clique at Quebec. Among the most striking events of this period is the wholesale conversion of the redskins by Jesuit missionaries, who work'd over the whole region and branch'd out into unknown inland domains with fanatical zeal and incredible bravery. Learning the Indian tongue, these heroick fathers endur'd every hardship of the wilderness and in many cases suffer'd martyrdom amidst incredible tortures. For the most part gentlemen by birth, their fortitude possesses a splendour worthy of epick literature; and it is not without reason that their church has lately chosen new saints from amongst them. Their leading field was amongst the Hurons in the region now Ontario, south of Georgian Bay, where they had extensive mission stations. It was when the Iroquois attack'd these settlements that their courage was put to the test. In 1643 Fr. Isaac Jogues was captur'd by the Iroquois, but escap'd to France by way of the Hudson Valley and the Dutch New-Netherland colony. Returning in 1646, he suffer'd martyrdom. In 1649 the Iroquois conducted their great massacre of Hurons, wiping out the Georgian Bay region's mission stations and killing several of the missionaries, including the celebrated Fathers Brébeuf and Lallemant, (whose osseous reliques are preserv'd in the Hô-

tel-Dieu at Quebec) amidst tortures of the most barbarick order, which the victims endure'd with a bravery well-nigh transcending imagination. By 1656 the boldness of the Iroquois had become so great that they plunder'd Quebec itself, ravaging many houses in the lower town without opposition. Had it not been for the sacrifice of Dollard's band in 1660, which convince'd the redskins of the prodigious valour of the French, it is probable that the colony might have been wholly wiped out. Meanwhile, however, some important exploring had been going on. In 1658 two fur-traders, Pierre Esprit Radisson and his brother-in-law Médard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers, struck into the unknown west and reached the region now forming Wisconsin—the Galpinian country west of Green Bay.⁵ Their report of a 'great river that divides itself in two' makes it probable that they were the true discoverers of the Mississippi. In 1659 they reached Lake Superior, and in 1660 brought back to New-France a great wealth of furs which sav'd the Indian-ravag'd colony from bankruptcy. On a second expedition in 1661 Radisson and Groseilliers founded a trading-post at the west tip of Lake Superior, and subsequently (in all probability) ascended the Albany River to Hudson's Bay. Upon returning to Quebec with a prodigious store of furs, they were stript of a great part of their profits by the governor, on the pretext that they had traded without a licence. Disgusted by this treatment, they quit New-France and went to London in an effort to interest our British merchants in the fur-trade; succeeding so well that in 1670 there was form'd that most historick of monopolies, The Hudson's Bay Company, under the government of H. R. H. Prince Rupert, nephew of His martyr'd Majesty, Charles the First. They later became the company's leaders and agents in the regions around Hudson's Bay, which were claim'd by His Britannick Majesty, Charles the Second, and awarded in feudal tenure to the company. It is amusing to note that amongst the English MM. Radisson and Groseilliers were known respectively as "Mr. Radishes" and "Mr. Gooseberry", by a kind of whimsical, good-humour'd colloquial nomenclature.

The town of Quebec itself remain'd more of a trading-post and mission station than a city in the fullest and most self-contain'd sense. It was still the centre of all fur-shipping activities, since Montreal (tho' at the very mouth of the Ottawa River up which most of the fur-trade lay) was at this date too remote and undefended from the Iroquois to form a suitable metropolis. The population was scarce more than that of a village; and the private dwellings, of which none have survived, (the oldest existing house having been built in 1674) were not of an imposing sort. Emigration to Canada had been discourag'd by the fur merchants who wish'd to keep it unpopulated, and by the terrifying accounts of the redskin salvages publisht in the reports or *Relations* of the Jesuit fathers. In 1647 Gov. Montmagny began the construction of that imposing official castle on the cliff within the fort, *Château St. Louis*, which is so fam'd in history as a seat of vice-regal power. It was greatly enlarg'd and rebuilt at later dates—in 1694 by Governor Frontenac and in the early nineteenth century by Sir James Craig—and was burnt down on Jany. 25, 1834; the site being now occupy'd by the celebrated hostelry, the *Château-Frontenac*. Also in 1647 was lay'd the corner-stone of the new church of Notre-Dame, now the popish Cathedral or Basilica, on the site of Champlain's upper-town chapel of Notre Dame de Recouvrance, which had burn'd down in 1640. At this period we may picture Quebec as a spacious half-rural place; with heights strongly fortify'd, and with both upper and lower towns built up to a slight extent by small houses and a few publick edifices like the church, the chateau, the Jesuit College, the Ursuline nunnery, and so on. The narrow winding streets, unpav'd and rough, had some indications of their future courses; and there were publick market-places in both lower and upper towns. The lower-town market-place was close to the site of Cham-

plain's burn'd-down *Abitation* and chapel, in the shadow of the high cliff where the fort and castle were now seen towering aloft. Its upper-town counterpart was adjacent to the Jesuit College; and here in 1647 the first publick tavern in Quebec was open'd by one Jacques Boisdon at the Sign of the Baril d'Or, or Golden Barrel. Upon this sign was a whimsical motto, "*J'en bois donc*", (therefore I drink) which form'd a pun upon the tavern-keeper's surname. Boisdon was officially granted the right to serve guests at any time save during mass, sermon, catechism, or vespers—these provisions well illustrating the priest-ridden state of the colony, a condition analogous to that prevailing in the Puritan colonies of New-England. As for fortifications, no attempt cou'd be made to encircle the lower town or the shoar beneath the cliff; but this strip was well guarded by the guns of the fortress above. The upper town was on this side well protected by the cliff and fort. Inland, where the plateau continu'd westward, an earth and wood wall was rear'd at a place which left a good space within, and which marks the line of the present city wall. On the lower level or higher, wherever one of the few avenues of access to the upper town began or continued its steep course, a well-guarded gate was plac'd. Gates were also provided at needful places in the westward wall. Eventually the primitive walls gave place to the strong masonry walls now existing, and fine gates were constructed wherever necessary; this work being carry'd on by the British after the capture of the town. The wall, crossing the plateau from Cape Diamond to the northern edge, is pierc'd on the upper level by the St. Louis Gate at the end of Rue St. Louis, by Kent Gate at Rue Dauphine, and by St. John's Gate at Rue St. Jean. It then descends the sheer precipice to a place where the later French civil governors or "Intendants" had their palace on a higher level of the lower town, and where St. Nicolas or Palace Gate was built. Thence following the rise of the cliff, it intersects the road call'd Canoterie-Hill at Hope Gate, where on both sides the guns of the Ramparts and Grand Battery frown down from their dizzy eminence atop the hill known as St. Famille. From here around the east end of the plateau the cliff itself, with a parapet having many battery emplacements, forms the only needed wall. Close to the fort and chateau, where Mountain Hill or Côte de la Montagne forms the principal link betwixt upper and lower towns, Prescott Gate was built near the upper level. As names indicate, much of this fortification and gate-building was of later date and British origin; but the general plan of the defences is the original one. Of all five gates only two, St. Louis and Kent, now remain; the others having been demolish'd in the middle nineteenth century to meet the exigencies of traffick. Indeed, the present St. Louis and Kent Gates are new ones dating from that period, of a width and height adapted to more contemporary needs. The necessity of most of the changes may be admitted, tho' one feels that Hope-Gate might have been preserv'd—even in its quaint original form—since to this very day the traffick up and down Canoterie-Hill is remarkably slight.

During this middle seventeenth century period, when Montmagny and de Lauzon and d'Argenson and de Courcelles and d'Ailleboust were viceroys, the streets of Quebec must have had an exceedingly picturesque aspect; being fill'd with painted Indians, buckskin-clad and barbarically trinketed trappers, stocking-capped and booted sailors, cuirassed soldiers, black-robed Jesuits, grey-garb'd Recollets, prim Ursuline nuns, and the gaily-habited populace of the village and adjacent farms. There was undoubtedly much more natural gayety, vivacity, colour, and adventurous zest of living than in the New-England colonies to the southward; and the streets no doubt teem'd with a roystering and brawling to which the towns of those colonies were much less accusom'd. The colonists of New-France, being few in number, of that irresponsible temper engender'd by a despotick government, of a race and religion free from gloomy

reflections, and drawn to the colony by an excitement and ambition strong enough to conquer all dread of Indian devastation, were of a very different sort from their sober English neighbours. They came more as traders and adventurers than as every-day settlers, and were not so quickly dispos'd to duplicate the tame industry and prosaick habits of the Old World on the soil of the New. There was in them a spirit of carefree liberation, and a resolve to extract as much enjoyment as possible from the experience of life, which marks them as instinctively civilised in spite of their popish bigotry; and differentiates them very sharply from the morbidly serious victims of the Puritan tradition. We are commonly dispos'd to underestimate their merits by reason of having learn'd about them first from Puritan historians; who naturally held them in disfavour both through disparity of temper and through historic position as military and political foes. In truth, their manner of life was much more rational and sane than that of the Puritan; it being no true evil to remain content with simple living, undevelop'd trade and enterprise, and passiveness in affairs of state. The Puritan, in pursuing a blind urge toward expansion, industry, self-government, and education, strove after things of very doubtful value to him; and lay'd the foundations for that blind worship of size, material progress, speed, wealth, and industry for its own sake, which is today the most serious barrier against civilisation in America. The French-Canadian, on the other hand, strove to seize the moment's quota of joy, light, beauty, and song; and if the process left him poor in an outward way, it more than repay'd him in all that real gratification of natural yearnings which alone forms the criterion of value in the meaningless process call'd life. At the same time it must be made clear, that this civilis'd capacity for enjoyment does not serve to best advantage in solid colonisation. In the founding of new realms, and the quick extension of homeland ways of life over these unpeopled wastes, the dogged British colonist is without anything approaching a rival. Coming in vast numbers, in evenly balanc'd families, and with no intent but to pursue the familiar English occupations of agriculture, trade, and industry on a freer scale, the New-England immigrants at once establish'd a wholly different relationship to the soil from that possess'd by the French. They were settlers, not explorers; and prefer'd to give a small strip of coast a thorough English peopling, both rural and urban, and with all the mild phases and activities of English life reproduced unchanged, rather than penetrate thinly far into the unknown interior and indulge in adventurously unaccustom'd pursuits for the sake of glory, excitement, and possible wealth. As a result, we behold very different conditions in the New-France and New-England of the middle and later seventeenth century. The French had settled the countryside but sparsely, and had no really considerable towns but Quebec and later Montreal; yet their traders and missionaries had explored and open'd vast stretches of westward territory, so that the French tongue and ways and merchandise were known to remote Indian tribes of whom the English and Dutch had never heard. To this day the place-names of the Middle West and the tribal nomenclature of most Western Indians exhibit a Gallick cast which is a good measure of the extent of French penetration and influence. On the other hand, whilst there was very little territory in Canada at this date which truly resembled France in industry, social order, and degree of settlement; the seaboard of New-England was already the seat of a busy English life surprisingly akin to that of the mother country. By 1660 Salem, Boston, Newport, and New-Amsterdam were all considerable towns, with settled ways, and with a native-born generation almost ready to take the stage of principal activity; whilst the countryside was thickly dotted with farmsteads and till'd with traditional diligence. Even a sea-trade with the West Indies was beginning to spring up. At a date when Quebec and Canada were still a pioneering

experiment, New-England, tho' settled from 12 to 22 years later, was already a well-fill'd country of Englishmen with a solid type of English life and ways completely crystallis'd. This is why New-England towns founded in 1620, 1626, 1630, 1636, 1640, and so on, emphatically seem, and indeed in all practical respects are, distinctly older than Quebec, notwithstanding the latter's founding in 1608. One salient difference in French and English policy was that respecting relations with the Indians. The French, despite their ceaseless feud with the Iroquois, approach'd the redskin salvages on a basis of acquiescent tact and respectful fraternity; honouring Indian customs and ceremonies in the making of treaties, and using vast diplomacy in the maintenance of missions and trading-posts amongst them. The disinterested enterprise of the Jesuit fathers open'd up paths of intercourse in a pacifick way, and the course of most trappers and traders in taking Indian wives or concubines pav'd the way toward a softening of lines of demarcation. Vast hordes of half-breeds were created, whose descendants still populate much of the Canadian northwest; and many Frenchmen went over altogether to the Indians and dwelt amongst the tribes. One special class of semi-Indianis'd Frenchmen, who wore a half-Indian costume of paint and feathers, had Indian wives, and harbour'd many Indian beliefs, were known as *coureurs de bois*, or rangers of the woods, and are very well describ'd in the fictions of the late Everett McNeil. They dwelt in the wilderness and serv'd as guides for the *voyageurs* or wandering fur-traders from Quebec, and later Montreal, who paddled their canoes up the Ottawa River and along the labyrinthine streams of the wild sub-arctic regions beyond. But of all pioneers the Jesuit missionaries were the most enterprising. Borne along by a fanatical zeal to Christianise the redskins, they were ideal advance scouts for the traders and settlers who follow'd; since they amicably prepar'd the Indians for the coming of a French influence. Their temporary "conversions", effected through the Indian's love of trinkets and mystical mumblings, had no effect on the life or culture of the Indians; yet the whole missionary process was of the greatest political importance. Only the conquistadores of New-Spain exceeded the French in effecting links with the Indian. These, indeed, carry'd the process as far as an actual hybridism whereby Indian blood enter'd the best Spanish veins; but the French stopp'd short of that. The Gallick half-breeds form'd a separate class, tho' no doubt a small stream of Indian blood did eventually trickle imperceptibly into some of the humbler French *habitants* or peasants—perhaps on a larger scale than ever occurred in the English areas. Our own attitude toward the Indian was the antipodal opposite of the Latin one. The Anglo-Saxon temper cou'd brook no equality with dusky salvages, and accordingly even the best of them were treated with a brusqueness, arrogance, and contempt for their customs, which did not encourage the growth of amity. We despis'd them as something hopelessly different from anything our body-politick cou'd ever contain, and accordingly sought to get their land and push them back in order to enjoy a New-English nation with no inhabitants but ourselves. Cross-breeding, lawful or unlawful, was almost negligible as judg'd by the Latin standard; and indeed our settled type of living was not such as to give our traders and pioneers much contact with the bulk of the redskin population. Then, of course, King Philip's War virtually wip'd out the Indian as a factor in New-England after 1676. After that date there were children in the coast towns who scarce knew what an Indian look'd like; having seen only the few own'd as domestick slaves along with the blacks (which the French never acquir'd) lately imported from the West-Indes. Our parsons, aside from John Eliot, Mr. Roger Williams, and a few others, had no interest in making Christians of the salvages; it having been seen very early how hard it was to produce any real change in their thoughts and ways. Our statesmen, when it was need-

ful to make compacts with the tribes, had none of the suavity, respect, and ingratiating pageantry of the French; but behaved with a scornful aloofness highly irritating to the proud Indian temper. As a result of all this, the redskins were in general always inclin'd toward friendliness with the French, and toward hostility against ourselves. Only the Iroquois, with their special grudge against New-France, form'd an exception to this general rule; and even they at one later time half-waver'd in their attitude—being then kept on our side only through the influence of the celebrated Sir W: Johnson, who dwelt amongst the Mohawks and mingled with them in the French way. He, a singular character among us, would have been in no manner remarkable in Canada.

An event of great importance in the history of New-France was the appointment of an head of the Romish church there; a post of manifestly prodigious importance in a colony so priest-ridden. A bishop there had long been desir'd by the French King, but the papacy was very cautious in responding. In 1659, tho' declining to create an outright bishoprick, the pope appointed a so-call'd *apostolick vicar* of bishop's rank; one whose title (following the popish custom of giving dignitaries imaginary provinces in the early Christian world) was *Bishop of Petraea in partibus infidelium*.⁶ This clerick, whose name has enter'd history as one of the greatest executives of New-France, was the celebrated Monsigneur François de Montmorency-Laval, a gentleman of antient family and brilliant intellect whose organising genius helped to fasten upon Canada that ingrained ecclesiasticism which survives undiminish'd to this day. In 1663 he founded the seminary, still a great institution in the upper town, out of which Laval University grew. In 1670 the Vatican consented to create a Bishoprick of Quebec, to which as a matter of course Monsigneur de Montmorency-Laval was at once appointed. This see, extending over all of North America except New-Spain, was expressly made independent of the archbishops of France, and subject only to the Vatican itself; a circumstance further promoting the fanatically orthodox and ultramontane character of its communicants, since it left the region untouched by any of the liberalising influences later operative in Old France itself.

(C) New-France as a Royal Province

In 1663 a still more important event occur'd in the form of a cancellation of the rule and monopoly of the Hundred Associates, or Company of New-France. King Louis the Fourteenth, disgusted with the scant progress, slack trade, and thin colonisation achiev'd under the Company, put a period to its charter and resolv'd to erect New-France into a crown colony rul'd by himself through the usual system of royal provincial government. He had learn'd what our British monarchs were even then learning—that commercial or charter government is at best but ill adapted to the needs of any colony of which a populous and settled future is expected. 'Tis notable, that Virginia became a royal province in 1624, New-Hampshire in 1679, Massachusetts in 1684, Maryland in 1690, New-Jersey in 1702, Carolina in 1712, and Georgia in 1752. In this case the Grand Monarch determin'd to make New-France as close a duplicate as possible of the provinces of Old France; giving it as similar a government as conditions wou'd allow. Accordingly, on the French provincial model, it was to be rul'd by a Governor or King's representative to form the titular or ceremonial head, plus an *Intendant* or business agent to oversee the actual administration of affairs; these two supplemented by a Sovereign Council (corresponding to the provincial parliaments in Old France) appointed by the King on recommendation of the colonial officials. In this council, *ex officio*, the local Bishop was to serve; thus strengthening the theocratical nature of the colony. In the provinces of France, by virtue of that curious French trait

which even now makes the president of the republic a ceremonial figurehead as compared with the premier, the post of Governor had become merely decorative, leaving the *Intendant* as sole actual head of affairs. Quebec did not quite parallel this; for many Governors vigorously asserted themselves, both against the Intendant and against the reigning Bishop. The actual change from company to royal rule was effected by the genius of that celebrated French financial minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert. As a beginning, Daniel de Rémy, Sieur de Courcelles, was appointed Governor, whilst Jean Talon, a relative of Colbert and afterward celebrated for his brilliant executive ability, was made Intendant. The third or clerical post of power was of course in the hands of Monseigneur Montmorency de Laval. Having temporary precedence over all of these officials, in order to give the new province an unify'd start in the manner of a Roman dictator, was Marquis de Tracy, appointed to the newly devis'd temporary post of "Lieutenant-General of the King in North and South America".

The details of provincial policy were all decided in France, and at this period was fashion'd that compleat system of feudal tenure which was pass'd on to the British conquerors; remaining as a legal actuality till 1854, and having effects on the local manners and customs which have not even yet departed. Seigniorial holdings had before been granted now and then, but only now did they multiply to an universal extent. As a royal province, New-France was soon subdivided into a myriad of long, narrow seigniories fronting on the St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers; the latter being the stream connecting the former with Lake Champlain. These seigniories were held by gentlemen-colonists—never by absentee landlords—and rented to a suitable number of agricultural *habitants* or tenants. Rents were usually pay'd in produce, tenants ow'd their seigniors military service, and fines were due when a farm chang'd hands. As seigniories were divided, the need for river frontage made the cleavage always longitudinal; so that a much-divided holding became merely a series of ribbon-like strips—like the old home lots of early Providence, with their necessary frontage on the town street along the waterfront. In Quebec the institution of feudalism work'd admirably until modernity destroy'd patriarchal society and introduc'd the notion of land as a much-exchang'd commercial commodity. Fees of the seignior to the Crown, and of the tenant to the seignior, were light and equitable; nor was it an hardship that all habitants were oblig'd to use their lord's grist-mill. We have heard this system abus'd by the democratically-prejudic'd historians of New-England, yet must refuse to endorse their complaint as to its social effects. It did indeed breed a docile type of peasant vastly unlike the restless, assertive, and equalitarian Yankee farmer; but not a few will maintain that there is nothing to be censur'd in such a result. The fact is, it is probably better for a nation's culture to have a fabrick of contented peasants whose status enables the superior classes to cultivate the arts of leisure and give refinement to the general spirit. Such a system of squirearchical settledness is to be prais'd and adher'd to *as long as it can be made to work*. When sundry conditions such as moral decadence or the growth of industry and urbanism make it no longer practical, there is no use in trying to save it against the will of the social determinism; but during its heyday, as in the case of seventeenth and eighteenth century Canada, it deserves nothing but commendation. The paternalistick government and feudal organisation of New-France made that region admirably suited to military mobilisation; and the compulsion upon gentlemen to settle genuine tenants on their land was a vast aid to rapid colonisation. Indeed, there are many who look upon the real history of Canada, as a populated and civilis'd province, as beginning in 1663 rather than in 1608. The military advantages of paternalism and feudalism were made strikingly manifest in our wars with New-France, when the enemy's intelligently unify'd ac-

tion and effective mobilisation contrasted disastrously well with the disjointed and ill-related plans and manoeuvres of our separate and more or less democratic provinces. The Frenchmen, curse 'em, harry'd us most abominably despite our potentially superior numbers; and not even the Albany Convention of 1754, just before the last war, was enough to weld us into a comparably effective unit.⁷ That our final victory was due less to any land superiority, or to Gen. Wolfe's memorable taking of Quebec, than to the earth-wide power of His Britannick Majesty's Navy, is freely affirmed by all who give any intelligent thought to the matter. With good supply communications, the French cou'd have defeated any force such as we then had in America. By cutting 'em off from France we secur'd the dominance of the New World. God Save the King! It remains to add, that feudal ceremonies continu'd to lend picturesqueness to Canada's official life till the final abolition of seigniorage in 1854. American guidebooks of the 'fifties allude to the quaint acts of fealty and homage perform'd with great pomp by the Quebec seigneurs before His Majesty's Governor.

The actual regeneration of New-France began in 1665, with the belated arrival of the Lieutenant-General, Marquis de Tracy, from the West Indes. His first step was to remove the Iroquois menace, which he did by means of a swift and effective programme of campaigns and fort-building. He had with him a full regiment of the choicest veterans of Old France; and after their subjugation of the Iroquois settlements in New-York he settled as many of them as possible as colonists along the Richelieu River; giving seigniories to the officers and making the common soldiers their tenants. To this day the bulk of the population in the Richelieu Valley is descended from the men of this disbanded Carignan-Salières regiment, whilst place-names perpetuate the memory of the officers-seigneurs—Sorel, Chambly, Verchères, and so on. Marquis de Tracy return'd to France in 1667, leaving the government in the hands of the permanent officials, Governor de Courcelles and Intendant Talon. His wars against the Iroquois may be said to have done for New-France what King Philip's war did for New-England a decade afterward.

After the sword came the arts of peace; and in the years following 1667 we behold a remarkable œconomick and social growth on the part of New-France, so that within a decade the colony had some 10,000 inhabitants, whereas in 1663 it had had but 2500. Many shiploads of settlers were dispatch'd, including girls of marriageable age whose presence enabled the colonists to found families of pure white blood. In the work of œconomick adjustment, the governor (tho' by no means wanting in civick and military skill) was quite eclips'd by the superlatively brilliant Intendant Talon, whose kinship to Colbert always ensured him the good coöperation and attention of the home government. Talon was the first to see Canada as other than a mere fur-trading centre, and persuaded the French King to look upon it as a potential source of raw materials and market for manufactur'd goods—which it must inevitably become if supply'd with that ample population which the fur monopoly had discourag'd. Besides importing colonists, he put a penalty upon bachelors, gave dowries to new-marry'd couples, and devis'd bounties for all families having twelve children or over. The fecundity he inculcated, persists to this day; so that at present the French-Canadians are the most rapidly multiplying element in the new world. Not only have they pushed back most of our English settlers who enter'd the province of Quebec after 1760, but they have overflow'd into adjacent regions once populated wholly by us—Ontario, and the states of New-England. Today whole sections of Rhode-Island, including such ample cities as Woonsocket and Central Falls, (also Fall River, just across in the Massachusetts-Bay) are as wholly French as Quebec itself; and the population thus overflowing is jealously

tenacious in its retention of French speech and manners, having a wholly different attitude from that of any European foreign group in New-England. This sturdy persistence of French blood and ways, which we English have scarce been able to equal amidst the general mongrelisation of the continent, reminds one of nothing so much as the persistence of Greek blood and ways in the antique world despite the spread of Roman dominion and the later mongrelisation of the Empire. It confirms us in the common belief that the French are the Greeks, as we are the Romans, of the modern world. The quality of the population as encouraged by Talon probably compared favourably with that of the English colonies as a whole, despite prejudicial disparagements indulg'd in by the people of Ontario and New-England. There were inferior elements, but perhaps not more than in the English colonies; although the proportion of actual peasant blood may have been higher. New-England, whose common populace came from a yeoman rather than a peasant class, is perhaps the only region where the masses could present a higher mental and emotional average. The gentry of Canada, tho' not rich, had a pride and sense of beauty which makes them inferior to none, and which contrasts advantageously with the sharp, tradesmanlike temper of many of our chief men. Today there is perhaps no town in North-America, except Charleston, in South-Carolina, which has a tenth of the genuine refinement and sound civilisation of French Quebec.

Talon, who built a residence call'd Château Talon on the low ground north of the great cliff (site of the present hotel, Château Champlain), develop'd the trade of New-France with the utmost assiduity; encouraging the export of raw materials and natural resources, securing royal aid for shipbuilding at Quebec, promoting mines and fisheries, importing farm implements and livestock, and stimulating marine commerce with France, the West Indes, and New-England. In 1668 he erected a brewery near his residence, on the upward slopes of the lower town at the foot of the northern cliffs; which, after alteration by one of his successors, became a permanent Palace or residence for the Intendant, rivalling the governor's Château St. Louis on the cliff as a seat of power, and giving its name to the hill, street, and gate linking it with the upper town. The building was later twice burnt and repair'd, and in 1775 was utterly demolish'd during the military operations whereby the rebel General Benedict Arnold, later noted as a turncoat, sought to take Quebec in conjunction with Montgomery. Upon its site was later erected Boswell's Brewery, beneath which the original vaults of Talon's brewery of 1668 are still exhibited with pride. Further acts of Talon were systems of price-fixing and personal registry and regulation—the latter providing for the existence of a record or dossier of every one in the colony, and being not unlike systems still in use in Old France and other parts of continental Europe. There can be no question but that Talon was virtually the founder of Canada as a settled, civilised colony, just as Champlain was its founder as a permanent foothold of French trade and enterprise. Meanwhile the Jesuit missionaries had been pushing westward, in 1669 founding Indian missions at Mackinaw, Sault Ste. Marie, and Green Bay; regions now included in the American Middle West.

In 1672, after an administrative period of unbroken harmony with each other, Talon and de Courcelles return'd to France. This period had been marked by an ascendancy of the Intendant's functions over those of the governor, but in the combination appointed to succeed them the order was spectacularly revers'd. The Intendant was a M. Duchesneau; but the governor was that foremost of all rulers of New-France, the renowned and universally admired Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac. Frontenac was a nobleman of haughty and violent temper whose court career had been spoilt by his personal arrogance; but his military and civil ability were of the highest, hence upon

coming to Canada to repair his official fortunes he at once became a notable figure in its history. His tact and skill in dealing with the Indians, who call'd him the Great Onontio, were profound and enormous; and by entering into their spirit and recognising their forms and ways he was able to treat them like a stern parent without arousing their enmity. It is related in the works of Parkman, how Count Frontenac us'd to plume and paint like an Indian chief, and joyn in the warlike dancings and shoutings of his salvage allies; a thing absurd to the English mind, yet in truth not at all incompatible with a certain kind of dignity. In the internal affairs of New-France, Frontenac frequently clash'd with the authority of others; beginning in the autumn of his first official year, when Colbert rebuk'd him for convening in a representative way the Estates-General of Canada, a body of nobles, clergy, and commons analogous to the original Estates-General of Old France. It was Colbert's opinion, that this sort of convening was antagonistic to political good order; fit only for emergencies in Old France, and unwise at any time in the colony. Other troubles were conflicts of authority with the Intendant Duchesneau and Bishop Montmorency de Laval; things to be expected in view of Count Frontenac's haughty temper, and the traditionally subordinate nature of the office he held. He did his best to curb the even then noticeable despotism of the Jesuit clique, and might have won had the Intendant sided with him. In one matter Frontenac is scarcely to be commended; this being his wish, on oeconomick grounds, to legalise the trading of liquor to the Indians, which Laval and his clergy had outlawed. In 1682 the general cleavage of purpose betwixt the officials became so mark'd that both Frontenac and Duchesneau were recall'd to France, tho' the former was to return in greater glory seven years later. Frontenac founded the wilderness outpost fort which bore his name (now Kingston, Ontario) at the northeast corner of Lake Ontario.

Meanwhile exploration had been progressing at a vast rate, bringing to prominence names now famous in the history of this continent. In 1673 the trader Joliet, born and educated in Quebec, and the Jesuit Father Marquette, sail'd down the River Wisconsin and discover'd—perhaps for the first time, tho' Radisson and Groseilliers probably encounter'd it before—the broad river Mississippi, known to them before only thro' Indian tales of a great "Father of Waters". Down this vast stream they sail'd, past the Missouri and the Ohio, till they touch'd the region travers'd by the Spaniard De Soto 132 years before. They learn'd that the river extended to Mexique Bay, and wish'd to descend thither; but having stopt at the mouth of the Arkansas to feast with friendly Indians, were warn'd of hostile tribes farther south, and perswaded to return whence they came. In 1669 a memorable series of explorations was begun by that celebrated and pious enthusiast, René Robert Cavelier de la Salle, whose repeated frustrations and courage in the face of vicissitudes are so frequently describ'd. His seigniory near Montreal was facetiously call'd La Chine because of his wish to find a westward route to China; but his main ultimate design, form'd after he learnt from Marquette and Joliet that the Mississippi flows to Mexique Bay, was to extend the French power down the valley of that river and found a southern base to be used as a threat to Spanish dominion in Mexico. His early explorations concern'd the region betwixt the Ohio and the Great Lakes; but in 1679, when commandant at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, he undertook to descend the Mississippi to its mouth for the first time. With Count Frontenac's cordial and unswerving support, he founded a new post at Niagara Falls, built a vessel, and set sail on the Great Lakes for Green Bay, whence he sent back a load of furs as part of his mixed trading and exploring venture. Thereafter, having establish'd a fort at the mouth of the River St. Joseph, (Mich.) he entered the region of the Illinois and endured the perils of hostile Indians, incipient mutiny,

desertion, and loss of the vessel he had sent back to deliver furs and return with supplies. History relates his bold endeavour under these trials. Building a second fort and leaving his men, he return'd to Canada on foot in the dead of winter amidst all the perils of icy wilderness travel; there finding difficulties rais'd by his enemies, but retaining the faith and favour of Count Frontenac. Again going westward, he found his Illinois fort, which he had call'd Crevecoeur, or Heartbreak, deserted;* a thing which compell'd him to return to Canada once more. Frontenac being still well-dispos'd, La Salle a third time started west; on this occasion meeting the success he deserv'd. Proceeding to the bottom of Lake Michigan, at the present site of Signor Capone's metropolis of Chicago, he made a portage of his canoes to the Illinois River, descended that stream to the Mississippi, and as soon as the February ice conditions permitted, commenc'd the descent of the Father of Waters with a canoe party of 22 Frenchmen, a Franciscan missionary, his Italian lieutenant Henri de Tonty, and some Indians—about 50 individuals in all. On March 13, 1682, having paus'd at the village of the Arkansas Indians, La Salle formally took possession of the Mississippi Valley in the name of the French King; and on April 6 he reach'd the mouths of the Great River amidst sensations of the most signal triumph. Finding a dry spot amidst the marshy bayou land on April 8, La Salle the next day erected a cross with the shield and arms of France attach'd, and caus'd pious hymns to be chanted in a ceremonial fashion. Returning slowly over his route, hamper'd by illness and pausing to arrange posts and Indian affairs, La Salle reach'd Quebec in November, 1683, only to find that Frontenac had been recall'd, and that the new governor de la Barre was oppos'd to his ventures. Proceeding, however, to France, La Salle found favour with the son of Colbert, then deceased, and receiv'd a commission to found a post at the mouth of the Mississippi to serve as a base against Spain—with which nation France was then at war, and which had arbitrarily defin'd Mexique Bay as a clos'd sea under Spanish control. This half-military, half-colonising expedition, which set sail for Mexique Bay on the 1st of August, 1684, as a squadron of four vessels, involv'd much internal dissension and came to compleat grief. The full facts seem obscure; but it is known that La Salle miss'd the mouth of the Mississippi, landed on the Texas coast, built a fort, made some futile expeditions, and in Jan'y. 1687 set out for Canada with 16 men, having left 20 at the fort. On the 20th of March he was assassinated by one of a faction of mutineers, who later fought among themselves in a brawl which cost the murderer his life and caused the survivors to join a neighbouring band of savages. The faithful residue of the party push'd on to the Mississippi and reach'd a post, establish'd by La Salle's faithful associate De Tonty, on July 27, 1687. The dream of La Salle had at last come to pass; and France held a vast empire from Mexique Bay to the northern snows, which join'd the older New-France and form'd a solid barrier to the westward expansion of our English colonies along the Atlantick seaboard.

At Quebec the successors of Count Frontenac did not meet with smooth conditions. The Iroquois having made an expedition westward in which they had destroy'd the Illinois but suffer'd a repulse by the warlike Sioux, again began to harass the French settlements as they had not done since De Tracy's campaign. Governor de la Barre mov'd against them, but so feebly and blunderingly that he was recall'd to France. Fever among his troops was one of the causes of his failure. To de la Barre in 1685 succeeded

*The Illinois Indians of that region had been attack'd by the Iroquois, and the French had had to leave. It was from this fort that Fr. Hennepin made his historic trip up the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois. See McNeil's novel, "Tonty of the Iron Hand".

the Marquis de Denonville, a much abler man who led an expedition against the Seneca settlements and destroy'd them in the absence of most of the warriors. He also built a fort at Niagara. In 1689 the Iroquois took their revenge; attacking the settlements of La Chine, at La Salle's old Seigniory near Montreal, on the night of August 25th and massacring most of the inhabitants. They killed some 200 persons with the most extream cruelty, remaining unopposed as masters of the isle of Montreal till the middle of October, when they retired, bearing 120 prisoners. This frightful event threw the entire colony in terror, and it was rumoured that our English colonists in New-England and New-York had instigated the raid, notwithstanding a treaty of 1686 which provided that neither France nor England shou'd employ redskins in time of war. War was indeed now existing, the French King having espoused the cause of our exiled Stuarts against that of His Protestant Majesty, William the Third. Governor Denonville's terror was extream, and he caus'd Fort Frontenac to be abandon'd; thus leaving scarce an outpost of France betwixt Three Rivers and Mackinaw, at the head of Lake Michigan. Of the trouble he had said "God alone could have sav'd Canada this year." At this time he was already under recall, since it was evident that a stronger leader was necessary amidst the complications of Indian attack and future English military operations. Indeed, in June of the same year there had once more been appointed to the governorship of New-France that one man in all the French kingdom competent to deal with the desperate crisis. On the 12th of October, 1689, at the age of 69, there again settled within Château St. Louis, in the fort atop Quebec's lofty cliff, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac.

The Quebec to which Count Frontenac return'd was a town of no mean aspect; built up quite thickly with small steep-roof'd French houses having sometimes two tiers of dormer windows. The prevailing materials were then, as now, stone and stucco-cover'd brick. The general topography was much as it is at present; and because of the highly dramatick, unique and unalterable character of the landscape setting, the general atmospherick effect cannot have been greatly different from that at any later period. A flat town may change its appearance overnight, but a town set amidst permanent geographick features of mark'd distinctiveness must always convey a more or less similar impression. In 1689 the lofty Cape Diamond, towering above even the upper town and reached from the level of Fort St. Louis by a steep incline or glacis, already bore the character of a citadel, tho' its fortifications were of wood and demanded frequent repair. Below it cou'd be seen the general surface of the plateau, bristling with the upper town's steep roofs, and glistening as the sun touch'd the tin-coated spires of the churches, convents and college, and seminary. Château St. Louis, adjacent to the fashionable promenade and parade-ground call'd "Place d'Armes", frown'd at the edge of the cliff; behind it was a stone windmill on a hill less lofty than the citadel, and beside it rose the newly rebuilt Ursuline Convent, which has surviv'd to this day. On the present site of the Anglican cathedral near the fort there wou'd soon be finish'd the new Recollet Monastery, the old one on the River St. Charles having been bought in 1683 by Bishop St. Valier, Laval's successor, for the Nuns of the General Hospital. The Jesuit's College rose close by, facing the upper market place, and having attach'd a church built in 1666, and not far from that was the imposing Basilica of Notre-Dame—made a Cathedral in 1664 by Pope Clement, but not yet enlarg'd to its present size. Beside the Cathedral, near the point where the cliff-edge takes a northward turn, rose the spire of the Quebec Seminary—an edifice since damag'd by fire many times, but still in a sort of Phoenix-like existence. A little way down the cliff along the line of Mountain-Hill, the road to the lower town, stood the splendid palace of the Bishop—where Montmorency Park is now. Near this was the old burying-

ground, abandon'd for such use in 1687. Far around the cliff to the northward, on another approach to the lower town, the Hôtel-Dieu convent and hospital, built in 1657, was seen. The lower town itself was not rich in publick edifices; the finest perhaps being the Intendant's Palace on the gentle rise leading up to the northerly face of the cliff where a road ascended to the top. This had recently been made over by the Intendant de Meulles from Talon's old brewery, and the cliff just where it was becoming known as Palace Hill. Nearly opposite it, where the roadway curv'd up the fortyify'd height, Palace or St. Nicolas Gate was about to be constructed. The only other notable lower-town building was the new (and still existing) parish church then called L'Enfant Jesus, built in 1688 on the market place beneath Fort St. Louis near the site of Champlain's *Abitation*, where the Breakneck Steps and upper town road led down to a waterside battery of guns beside the principal wharves. Just up the river from here was the cave call'd Cul de Sac, and the district of Neuville, where Champlain St. now is. Outside the recognis'd limits of the town on the bank of the St. Charles, was the former Récollet Monastery, (where in his first governorship Frontenac wou'd go into "spiritual retreats"—emerging fiercer than ever!) purchased as a General Hospital. The suburbs in general were just beginning to appear—as separate villages which would later be overtaken by the growth of the city outside the walls. St. Roch was on the lower level north of the cliff and west of the Intendant's Palace. Still farther westward, beyond the General Hospital, was St. Sauveur. On the upper level the St. Jean suburb was outside the walls on the road to Ste. Foy and Montreal; St. Louis being on the rather higher ground south of this, nearer the St. Lawrence. Limoilou lay across the St. Charles River, and Sillery was on the St. Lawrence's north shore a few miles above Quebec. Down the St. Lawrence on the same side as Quebec lay Beauport, five miles away, where some of the most antient seignioralties were to be found. Still farther along—some nine miles from the city—were the great falls of the Montmorency River, which thunder'd as they do today down a cliff of more than 250 feet into the St. Lawrence; carving, it was rumour'd, a subterraneous passage beneath the great river and rising again off the neighbouring Isle of Orleans at a dangerous spot call'd by boatmen Le Taureau, or The Bull. The Isle of Orleans, a long, large body of land set east of Quebec at a point where the St. Lawrence widens from a true river into a prodigious estuary, was already dotted with villages and farmsteads; and had enjoy'd several names besides its principal one—"Minego" according to Indian nomenclature, "Isle of Bacchus" according to those early explorers who had noted its abundance of grapes, and "Isle of Sorcerers" according to the superstitious, who fear'd its reputed population of daemons. It is now one of the least modernis'd parts of the country, and is much favour'd for summer travel. On it is the oldest rural convent in Canada. Across the St. Lawrence from Quebec rose the vast cliffs of Point Levi, now call'd Lévis; as majestick as those of the city itself, and cleft by the spectacular falls of the River Chaudière a little west of this region. A village was already beginning to spring up here. Such was the scene which greeted Count Frontenac upon his second arrival. In the city there had developed a social life of not unpleasing cast; pious and somewhat austere in tone, and more dominated by the clergy than the urban life of Old France. Priests, nuns, and students in the ecclesiastical institutions, were omnipresent; and the presence of an increasing official and seigniorial group lay'd the foundations for amenities perhaps superior to any on this continent north of Virginia. In the streets, as of old, were a motley and colorful throng—soldiers, sailors, voyageurs, merchants, coureurs de bois, habitants, merchants, Indians, half-breeds, friars, and every sort of denizen common to a great French outpost. The Rue, Grande Place, or Place d'Armes beside the fort and

Château St. Louis in the upper town, was the chief scene of public resort; and besides harbouring military parades and meetings of various sorts, it was the recognis'd promenade for persons of fashion. Even at this early date the upper town, both because of its superior attractiveness and because of its position as a military and governmental centre, had begun to acquire that social preference which it has always since possess'd. The leading street of residence seems to have been the Rue St. Louis, which stretch'd westward from the fort, pass'd the short lane to the Ursuline Convent, and ended at the city wall near the gate named for it, beyond which lay the future suburb of St. Louis and the fertile pastures call'd the Plains of Abraham after their original owner—the Scotsman Abraham Martin, first pilot on the St. Lawrence, to whom a monument has lately been erected on the waterfront. On the river below, an increasing number of masts and sails were seen, both of merchant ships and of the French King's frigates of war. Warehouses, the platform and battery, sea-taverns, shops, and the like, all gave spice to the teeming maritime fringe. A rich body of sailorly legend grew up; and the one jutting part of the cliff, where the ramparts extend north of the fort, became known as *Sault au Matelot*, or the Sailor's Leap, from some event or legend now dim to memory. The narrow street in the lee of this precipice is even today called Rue Sault au Matelot. Meanwhile there arose, some 21 miles east of Quebec, beyond the Montmorency Falls along that north shore so thickly lay'd out in seigniories, a curious shrine reputed by the Popish church to effect miraculous cures, and to this day famous throughout North-America as the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré. According to legend, this fane was established by some Breton sailors, who, being beset by a storm upon the St. Lawrence, made a vow to the patron saint of their native region that they wou'd build her a sanctuary on whatever spot of land she might safely conduct them to. Coming ashore at a place call'd Petit-Cap, they proceeded to fulfil their vow by erecting a small wooden chapel of Ste. Anne; which may be deem'd the fabulous ancestor of all the churches later standing there. In the year 1645 we hear of a missionary priest, Saint-Sauveur, in this region; and the Jesuit fathers quickly follow'd him. Seigniories were here granted from 1650 onward. The district being now well settled, plans were made for a church; and in 1659 its foundations were bless'd by the Sulpician father de Queylus, in company with M. d'Ailleboust, Governor of New-France under the Hundred Associates. At this period all Canada contain'd but ten churches; one at the antient settlement of Tadoussac one at Château-Richer, on the north shoar next to the new Petit-Cap region; one at Montreal; one at Three Rivers; one at Sillery; one at the Jesuit Residences on St. Geneviève Hill just outside the Quebec limits; and four in Quebec itself—the parish church of Notre-Dame, where the future explorer Joliet often play'd on the organ; the chapels of the Ursulines and the Jesuits, and that of the original Hôtel-Dieu, built in 1657. This church of St. Anne at Petit-Cap or Beaupré, then, was the eleventh in New-France. During the laying of the foundations, it is claim'd in the *Relations des Jésuites*, one Louis Guimont, a local habitant, sett some stones in place as an act of pious devotion and was at once cur'd of his chronick rheumatism. Later, in 1662, the wife of another farmer who had witness'd this cure was heal'd of a sort of curious paralysis by means of prayers offer'd to "La Bonne Ste. Anne". In the same year, moreover, a neighbouring epileptick profess'd a cure after having made a *novena*, or nine-day prayer, to the kindly saint. A fourth cure, says the Jesuit chronicle, was that of a soldier from the Quebec garrison in 1667, who wholly lost a total paralysis of one leg on the fifth day of a novena at the shrine. The curative fame of Ste. Anne de Beaupré seems to date from about 1665, and in 1666 and 1667 it was the scene of devotions by the Lieutenant-General Marquis de Tracy, who first

subdu'd the Iroquois. Not long afterward, the church was enrich'd by gifts from the Queen of France; Anne of Austria, mother of the Grand Monarch. In 1694 a steeple and bell were added; which still survive on the chapel built in 1878 from the stones of the old church—the latter having become ruinous and unsafe. This church was not the one whose foundations were lay'd in 1659. Difficulties caus'd the demolition of that structure before completion, and a more permanent structure of wood and stone was erected on a neighbouring spot in 1662. This, in turn, gave way to a stone church in 1676; which with additions was to endure for two centuries. It may be added, that a later church built in 1876 was destroy'd by fire in 1922, and that a fifth edifice is now under construction. The shrine, whose psychological effect upon credulous papists must be prodigiously potent, is now a place of the utmost fame throughout the continent; and is the goal of numberless pious pilgrimages. It is conducted, together with many necessary sacerdotal devices, by the Redemptionist Fathers; and its collections of saintly reliques and antique objects of religious art attract vast and profitable crowds each year; in addition to those who come to make devotions or to invoke the aid of the local goddess in the healing of disease. Of the cures effected by this New-World Lourdes we may say, as of other miracles including Christian-Science, that they involve such functional disorders as never had any real existence, but which were the result of morbidly concentrated attention on the patient's part. A physician skill'd in the science of the mind cou'd shew as high a proportion of similar cures as can the venerable grandmother of the Redeemer. At this shrine, the central curative agent is held to be a statue of St. Anne; burnt in 1922, but now being reproduced with much fidelity and sanctity. Amusing as these things may appear to the rational, it is truly to be hop'd that they will not altogether pass away. The naive mood of awe, reverence, and credulity underlying such worship is part of mankind's primitive heritage, and is assuredly a valuable counteractive to the prosaic standardisation and value-destruction of a mechanical æra. It has the beauty inherent in all ancient and wonder-making things, and works against the disillusion of decadence.

(D) The French-English Struggle for North-America

(1) King William's War.

As we shall soon see, the year 1689 was a major landmark in the history of French and English relations on this continent. Up to this time the natural rivalry of the two civilisations had smouldered, owing to the vastness of the region at stake, which permitted each nation to expand unchecked, without much interference from the other. It is true that our claim to the whole Atlantick coast-line, resulting from the discoveries of John Cabot, sett up a very early rivalry respecting Acadia and parts adjacent; but this was a relatively small matter as compar'd with the tensivity produc'd when the French push'd down through the Mississippi valley in 1682 and cut off potential British expansion to the west. As late as 1666 there was amity between French and English; so that in the Province of New-York, whither Sieur de Courcelle's had penetrated in pursuit of the Iroquois, Canadian troops were very civilly receiv'd and entertain'd at our settlements. The rivalry in Acadia has been previously mention'd. In 1612 the Virginian privateer Argall destroy'd Port-Royal, but French posts were almost immediately reëstablish'd, including Fort Pentagoët, (1613) within the present limits of Maine, in New-England. In 1621 King James the First erected the domain of Nova-Scotia, and granted it to Sir W. Alexander, who sent out a Scottish colony (unfortunately not permanent) to the site of Port-Royal. In 1628 Sir David Kirke captured all the French

posts in Acadia and carry'd the proprietor of the colony, Claude de la Tour, to England; though the region was restor'd to France by the treaty of 1632. Internal dissension betwixt M. de la Tour and the Lieutenant-Governor Sieur de Charnisay soon lay'd the region open to aggression from New-England; and in 1654 a body of our troops under Maj. Robert Sedgwick (holding authority from the usurper Cromwell) took possession of the province and install'd as governor the son of de la Tour, who had treasonably taken our side against his own government. In 1667, however, the region was ceded back to France. It is curious to observe that the Dutch had a brief foothold here, occupying Ft. Pentagoët in 1674 till their expulsion shortly afterward. It is at this fort that the Baron de St. Castin settled with his Indian wife; forming a theme for the poetick pens of Whittier and Longfellow,⁵ and giving his name to the New England town of *Castine* which later sprang up on the site.

The gravity of the long struggle for the continent was at last perceiv'd with great force by both sides. When, in June of 1689, Count Frontenac was once more appointed governor, he was told to recover for France the Hudson's Bay country, to protect Acadia, and to prepare an army for a descent into New-York, the capture of which wou'd be aided by a French fleet. It was design'd to hold the Province of New-York as a permanent barrier betwixt New-England and the other colonies of Great-Britain; permitting English papists to remain, but banishing all others, as well as all the long-settled Dutch inhabitants, to our territories in New-England and Pennsylvania. As French Governor of this Province, the Sieur de Callières was appointed in advance; a piece of sanguine presumption shewing vast ignorance of the indomitable force of our antient English valour. French privateers were despatch'd to harass our coasts; one fleet consisting of a large barque, a small barque, two sloops, and some smaller craft, becoming a great pest off Southern New-England. In July, 1689, this fleet gain'd access to Rhode-Island waters by employing a renegade Englishman as a decoy to answer hails; and having found upon inquiry that Newport was too strong to attack, seiz'd the outlying isle of Block-Island; holding it for a week amidst the gr̄atest plunder and outrage. This is the only occasion upon which any part of our colony has been held by a foreign foe. Acts of indignity and peculation were extreemly numerous, as is shewn in the case of John Rathbone, Esq., great-great-great-great-great-grandfather of the present writer. The Frenchmen, upon hearing that this gentleman was a person of property, conceiv'd the idea of seizing him and extorting from him an account of where his possessions were hid; in the course of which plan they mistakenly seiz'd and tortured his son (the writer's great-great-great-great-great-grandfather) of the same name. This fleet, under one Capt. Piquard, later attempted to harass the coast towns of Connecticut; but was finally driven off to sea by an expedition of two sloops which put out of Newport, commanded by the celebrated privateer Capt. Paine—who, 'tis said, had been associated with the French captain in former marine ventures.

Then, on August 25th, before the arrival of Count Frontenac in New-France, occur'd the sanguinary massacre of La Chine, as formerly mention'd, conducted by the Iroquois in revenge for Marquis de Denonville's destruction of the Seneca settlements. It does not seem to be conclusively settled, whether our New-England and New-York colonists in any way instigated this atrocious event; which wou'd of course have been in direct violation of the agreement of 1686, that neither nation shou'd employ salvage allies in case of conflict; but in any case the French believ'd such instigation to exist, and accordingly consider'd the agreement abrogated. There had been some previous Indian raids of French instigation upon our outposts along the Maine coast, where the boundary betwixt French and English influence was but ill-defin'd; but now a raiding-

programme of far more drastick nature was plann'd. Count Frontenac, upon reaching Quebec, resolv'd to enlist his Indian allies in a triple descent upon the English provinces; and accordingly sent out early in 1690 three expeditions, one from Montreal, one from Three Rivers, and the other from Quebec. The Montreal expedition, employing a band of Christian Iroquois favourable to the French, was commanded by three brothers of the celebrated Canadian family of le Moyne; one of whom, the Sieur d'Iberville, was later to become celebrated as the founder of Louisiana. This expedition, after a 22-day journey through the snows, fell just before midnight upon the sleeping village of Schenectady, in New-York, burning all of its houses and massacring such of its English and Dutch inhabitants as did not succeed in escaping to Albany. The Three Rivers expedition, led by the sanguinary Hertel de Rouville (later infamous as the leader of the Deerfield slaying-party) and his sons and nephews, contain'd Indians and coureurs de bois, and descended upon Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua River in New-Hampshire not far from Dover; where after a severe battle they burn'd houses, barns, and cattle, and bore away 54 captives, mainly women and children, whom they forc'd to carry the loot taken from the settlement. The prisoners eventually became slaves and servants, either of the Indians or of the French to whom they were sold. This practice of bearing off women and children became a settled policy with the French and Indians, and formed one of the chief reasons for our undying hatred of them. It is curious to observe, that one of our chief regrets in this matter was that New-England children shou'd be rear'd amongst the French as idolatrous Papists. The expedition of de Rouville, returning from Salmon Falls, met the outgoing expedition from Quebec; and having joyn'd forces with it, proceeded to the English settlement of Fort-Royal, on Casco Bay, the present site of the city of Portland, Maine. The fort being captur'd, all the garrison and inhabitants were massacred; and the raiders return'd to New-France unpunish'd.

But in these successes were sown the seeds of France's downfall in the New World; for the response was a decisive and inexorable rousing of that ENGLISH will to conquer and extirpate, which can no more be resisted than the will of the ROMAN PEOPLE of old. GOD SAVE THEIR PROTESTANT MAJESTIES, WILLIAM AND MARY! RULE, BRITANNIA! "It was thought," say'd the wise and venerable Dr. Increase Mather, "that the English subjects in these regions of America, might very properly take this occasion to make an attempt upon the French, and by reducing them under the English government, put an eternal period at once unto all their troubles from the Frenchified Pagans."⁹ Accordingly, on April 28, 1690, there set out from Nantasket, near Boston, a naval force of about 700 men, under the command of Sir William Phips, Knt., General and Commander-in-Chief, in and over Their Majesties' Forces of New-England, by Sea and Land. Sir William, later Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, and one of the most illustrious figures in the early history of New-England, was man of humble origin; one of the twenty-six children of a gunsmith, and at first a ship's-carpenter by trade, born at a remote settlement on the Kennebeck River, in Maine. Becoming a master of his trade, he mov'd to Boston, learn'd to read and write, marry'd a widow'd gentlewoman of wit and substance, and resolv'd to rise in the world till he shou'd be master of a King's Ship and own a fair brick house in the Green-Lane of North-Boston. Taking to the sea, he gave his attention to the recovery of sunken Spanish treasures; finally obtaining command of a ship, and at last, having brought back to his royal and noble employers the rich contents of a founder'd West-India galleon, being made a Knight by King James the Second. On this occasion Sir William with his fleet proceeded to Port-Royal, in

Nova-Scotia, which he reach'd on the 11th of May and which quickly surrender'd to the authority of our English crown. Demolishing the fort, administering to the inhabitants an oath of loyalty to Their Britannick Majesties, and setting up a provisional government under the authority of the Massachusetts-Bay, Sir William return'd to Boston and endeavour'd to rouse the people of New-England to further measures against the French. "As Cato," saith the old *Magnalia Christi Americana*, "could make no speech in the Senate without that conclusion, *Delenda est Carthago*, so it was the general conclusion of all that argued sensibly about the safety of that country, [New-England] *Canada must be reduced*. It then became the concurring resolution of all New-England, with New-York, to make a vigorous attack upon Canada at once, both by sea and by land."¹⁰ There was much conference among all the colonies upon the subject.

The attack by land was to be made upon Montreal, with a view to diverting the energies of the enemy whilst our fleet might make a successful siege of Quebec. It was to consist of a thousand Englishmen from New-York, Albany, and Connecticut, together with 1500 Indians; and had it reach'd its goal, wou'd have almost certainly have brought us victory, thus greatly changing the course of New-French history. Canoes, however, were lacking for water transportation over Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River; and the Indians fell away from the project; so that in the end the English turn'd back and abandon'd the venture. Upon hearing of this, Count Frontenac concentrated all his defences at Quebec.

The sea-force, under Sir W: Phips, consisted of 32 ships and tenders, of which the Admiral's vessel was the largest, having 44 great guns and 200 men. It set sail from Hull, near Boston, on the 9th of August (O.S.)¹¹ 1690, and thro' skilful navigation reach'd the Isle of Orleans, over-against Quebec, in excellent order on the 5th of October. On Monday, the 6th, Sir William sent to Count Frontenac a summons demanding the surrender of Quebec, giving as provocation the French and Indian raids upon New-England. In the name of Their Majesties William and Mary, and with the authority of the Massachuset-Colony, he ask'd of the French governor "a present surrender of all your forts and castles, undemolished, and the King's and other stores, unimbezled, with a seasonable delivery of all captives, together with a surrender of all your persons and estates to my dispose"; in return promising mercy and security, and adding: "Your answer positive in an hour, return'd by your own trumpet, with the return of mine, is required, upon the peril that will ensue."

But for once Sir William had met a worthy adversary, tho' a Frenchman; for Count Frontenac, adopting the French position of favour toward the depos'd Stuarts, and exercising that native haughtiness characteristick of him responded in this way:

'That Sir William Phips, and those with him, were hereticks and traitors to their King, and had taken up with that usurper, the Prince of Orange; and had made a revolution, which if it had not been made, New-England and the French had been all one; and that no other answer was to be expected from him, but what shou'd be from the mouth of his cannon.'

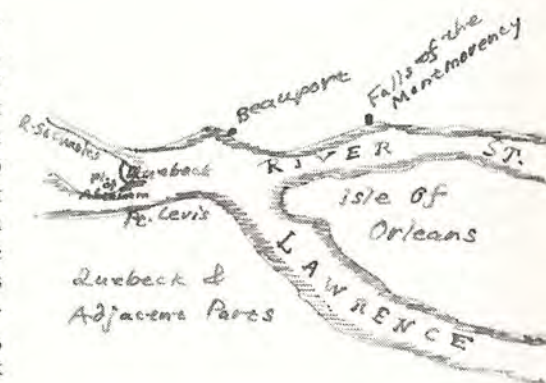
On the 7th the siege began in earnest, but the difficulties of landing, the nearness of the hellish northern winter, and the prevalence of smallpox in the fleet, were all against our success. With great difficulty, a landing was made at Beauport, on the north shoar east of Quebec, but from this point the troops were dislodg'd by a French force under Capt. Pierre Carré, since call'd by his countrymen "The Hero of Beaupré". In this dislodgment the battel was really lost; but the intrepid Phips, being unwilling to accept defeat, sail'd close up to the fortify'd cliffs of Quebec and fir'd boldly upon them despite

their return fire and generally impregnable nature. On Mt. Carmel, behind the Château St. Louis, the French placed a battery in a stout stone windmill; inflicting much damage with it upon our ships. To this day a ruin'd stone redoubt remains upon the spot, bearing a bronze tablet and having the name "Le Cavalier du Moulin". It was the design of Sir William to prosecute the siege as long as possible, in the hope of reducing Quebec by starving if not by assault; but

the coming of a great storm soon scatter'd the fleet so badly that such action cou'd not be taken. There was nothing to do but return to Boston, hence on Octr. 11th the siege was given over amidst the encreasing cold and snow. The bulk of the fleet reach'd Boston in safety on the 19th of November, but one brigantine, with 60 men under Capt. John Rainsford, was stranded upon the "desolate and hideous" island of Anticosti, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence; subjecting the castaways to every horror and rigour of freezing and famine. The unfortunate men, having built huts of trees, and planks from their shatter'd vessel, pass'd the entire winter on the bleak island; a few of them escaping in a small boat on March 26, 1691, and after incredible perils reaching Boston Harbour on the 9th of May and arranging for the early rescue of their companions. Sir William ever regretted the failure of his project: the more so, as even his earlier victory was annull'd by the French recapture of Port-Royal in 1691. He vainly sought authority for another expedition against Quebec; and it was said of him, that *Canada* was writ upon his heart, as *Calais* was upon Queen Mary's.¹² Sir William, being in London at the time Dr. Increase Mather was there in quest of a new charter for the Massachusetts-Bay, lent his voice to that of the Boston clerick; and in the course of negotiations receiv'd royal appointment as the first governor of the reorganis'd Province of Massachusetts-Bay. Assuming this office in 1691, he was sorely vext by the Salem witch disorders of the following year; being not a little blam'd for the vigour of his prosecutions. He dy'd whilst in London on the 18th of February, 1695 O.S., receiving universal lamentations throughout New-England, and being made the subject of a poetick elegy in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, which begins thus:

"Rejoice Messieurs; Netops rejoice; 'tis true,
Ye Philistines, none will rejoice but You:
Loving of All He Dy'd; who Love him not
Now, have the Grace of Publicans forgot.
Our Almanacks foretold a great Eclipse,
This they foresaw not, of our great PHIPS."¹³

Meanwhile the "Messieurs" in Quebec were indeed rejoicing in the most fervent fashion over the escape of their town from surrender. The newly-built (1688) chapel of L'Enfant Jesus, on the market place in the lower town, was rededicated to the Virgin Mary in honour of the deliverance; being now call'd *Notre-Dame de la Victoire*; whilst the guns and standards captur'd from our men at Beauport were ceremoniously distributed as



martial trophies. In 1691, as before related, the French regain'd Port-Royal; and thereafter they continu'd to lead the Indians in raids upon our settlements. In January, 1692, they took the town of York, in Maine, and offer'd the inhabitants a choice betwixt death and captivity. In 1693, the conquest of Canada having been resolv'd on in London, a fleet was despatch'd to effect it; but after an unsuccessful encounter off Martinique the yellow fever work'd havoc with the crews, so that when it put into Boston it was in no shape to proceed further. In this year also was a French and Indian raid upon Oyster River in New-Hampshire, where some 94 persons were kill'd or carry'd away. These forays along the coast were wholly instigated by the Jesuit missionaries, who boast of the matter in their Relations. At this period of the war our only successes were in the western theatre of action. Here, in 1691, the Albany Dutchman Schuyler made a foray into the Sorel country and effected a safe retreat, whilst in 1692 a French raid into the Seneca territory was dearly pay'd for. The Iroquois repeatedly harass'd the French in the Richelieu Valley above Lake Champlain, laying waste the countryside and besieging the forts and stockades. In the autumn of 1692 they laid siege to the fort at Verchères, near the mouth of the Richelieu; but were almost miraculously held off despite the absence of the usual defenders, the Sieur de Verchères' fourteen-year-old daughter, assisted only by two soldiers, an aged man, and her two small brothers, keeping the fort till help arriv'd. In 1693 Count Frontenac did damage to the Mohawk settlements, and in 1695 reoccupy'd Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, which Marquis de Denonville had abandon'd. In 1696, borne on a litter because of the feebleness of advancing years, he led a great punitive expedition into the lands of the Oneidas and Onondagas. Meanwhile La Motte Cadillac, the governor at Mackinac, (in 1705 founder of Detroit) confirm'd the friendship of the more westerly Indians. The Iroquois felt that they were sustaining more than their share of the struggle; and altogether the outlook was not bright for us. In 1696 the fort at Pemaquid, Maine, was taken by the French. In March, 1697, the Indians descended upon Haverhill, in the Massachusetts-Bay; slaying and capturing as usual, but receiving one severe reverse through the boldness of Mrs. Hannah Duston, since regarded as the prime heroine of her region, and honour'd by a very sumptuous monument in the main square of Haverhill. Mrs. Duston was sett upon by the salvages in her home, with a new-born infant and nurse and seven other children, whilst her husband was absent in the fields. The older children, escaping to the woods, were met and guided to safety by their returning father, who kept off the redskins with a musket; but Mrs. Duston was taken, the house burnt, and the brains of the new-born infant dash'd out against a tree. Later, Mrs. Duston and the nurse being carry'd north by the Indians to an island in the Merrimack above the present site of Concord, N.H., this intrepid matron plann'd and executed the reprisal for which she is famous. Inciting a fellow-prisoner, a young boy from Worcester, to learn from the Indians how scalping was accomplisht, she and the nurse in turn learn'd from him; and in the night all three sett about scalping their sleeping captors. Having kill'd 10 or 11 Indians, all those in their immediate wigwam, Mrs. Duston, the nurse, and the boy escap'd down the Merrimack in a bark canoe, and at length came once more to Haverhill. It is pleasing to relate, that Mrs. Duston liv'd to a ripe and peaceful age, leaving behind a numerous and worthy posterity well represented in Haverhill to this day.

This war, known to us in New-England as King William's War, nominally ended at the Peace of Ryswick in 1697; tho' boundary questions were left unsettled, and the status of the Iroquois made a matter of great dispute. Sieur d'Iberville, greatest of the brothers Le Moyne, continu'd to harass us in the Hudson's Bay Country, in Newfoundland, and in the West Indies, and in truth no one on either side consider'd the struggle as truly over. Finish'd it could never be till either we or the French had undisputed su-

premacy of the continent. The French were at this time greatly expanding in the west and down the Mississippi. Daniel Greysolon du Lhut, after whom the town of Duluth was later nam'd, founded a trading post on Lake Superior and explor'd the wilderness as far north and west as Lake Winnipeg. In June, 1701, Cadillac founded the town of Detroit with a Jesuit missionary and 100 Frenchmen. Illinois now contain'd many French posts, and in 1702 Vincennes, now in Indiana, was settled. In October 1698 Sieur d'Iberville brought a band of settlers by sea to the lower Mississippi region, looking for a colony site on the Gulf Coast west of the Spanish province of Florida, whose western outpost was Pensacola. After considerable exploration, a fort was built at Biloxi, in what is now the state of Mississippi; this forming the French seat of local government till 1702, when the chief fortress was transferr'd to the mouth of the Mobile River—a second and shorter transfer to the present site of the town of Mobile, Alabama, taking place in 1711. English counter-claims to the Mississippi Valley were made from 1698 onward, but never develop'd to any decisive degree. Sieur d'Iberville dy'd in 1706, universally lamented amongst his people, and generally allow'd to have been one of the greatest of the French officers and explorers—the true father of Louisiana. To him, as leader of the southern French colony, there succeeded the royal governor La Motte de Cadillac, founder of Detroit; after whom came d'Iberville's much younger brother Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de Bienville (1680–1768). Upon his appointment in 1718, under the Royal authority and in connexion with that inflated trading monopoly of the Scotsman John Law soon to be known as the Mississippi Bubble, Bienville founded the town of New Orleans, destin'd to have so mighty a future.

(2) Queen Anne's War.

Meanwhile, in 1702, actual war broke out again; this being the conflict call'd in New-England "Queen Anne's War", but in reality forming an American phase of the War of the Spanish Succession, whereby England oppos'd that consolidation of Bourbon and popish interests which wou'd have ensu'd had the French King, as now came about through dynastick succession, been able to claim for his family the throne of Spain. Our conflict being this time with both France and Spain, two of our colonial areas were involv'd in warfare; New-England, bordering upon New-France, and Carolina, adjacent to the Spanish territory in Florida. Count Frontenac, a noble enemy great in years and honours, had departed this life in 1698; and the Governor of New-France was now the elder Marquis de Vaudreuil. In the South, the Carolinians did well against both Spaniards and French fleets; the Huguenots of Charleston fighting eagerly against their popish kinsfolk. New-England, however, has mostly disaster to relate. The Iroquois being neutral, New-York was let alone; but in 1703 the coast of Maine was aflame with French and Indian massacre. In February 1704 the town of Deerfield, on the Connecticut River in western Massachusetts, was set upon by the sanguinary Hertel de Rouville and a party of 200 French and 142 redskin salvages in a midnight raid and massacre; the houses being burnt, and 47 persons kill'd. 112 persons, including the Rev'd Mr. Williams and his family, were taken into captivity; many, however, being ransom'd. Mr. Williams' youngest daughter, aged 7, could not be ransom'd in any way; but grew up a papist in an Indian village near Montreal, later marrying a Caughnawaga chieftain. Years afterward she visited Deerfield in Indian dress, but profest no wish to return permanently to the race from which she came. From 1705 onward, French and Indian raids on New-England became too numerous to chronicle; perhaps the worst being that of August 1708 upon Haverhill, (then a frontier town set against the wilderness) led by the infamous de Rouville and Sieur des Chaillons. In this out-

rage the Rev^d Mr. Rolfe was beaten to death, and his wife and infant otherwise slaughter'd; whilst others in the town far'd no better. As the barbarians return'd, their force was harass'd by a smaller local force under the heroick Samuel Ayer, and several captives were rescu'd.

At sea, New-England made many efforts against the French, but succeeded only in capturing Acadia, or Nova-Scotia. The fleet which accomplisht this, consisting of 6 ships from England under Nicholson and 30 from New-England, with 4 New-England regiments, sett sail from Boston in Sept. 1710; reaching Port-Royal in 6 days, and on the 16th of October (N.S.) receiving the honourable surrender of M. Subercase, the French governor. The flag of old England, rais'd over the town, has never since been lower'd; and by the grace of God and our British strength never shall be. In honour of Her reigning Majesty, Queen Anne, the name of Port-Royal was chang'd to *Annapolis*, which it still bears.

Efforts were now made to interest the London government in a decisive conquest of Canada; it being made clear in an appeal from the legislature of New-York that the French were hemming all our colonies in and making alliances everywhere with our potential Indian foes. At this period the redoubtable Peter Schuyler took a party of five Iroquois chieftains to England for an audience with the Queen; their picturesque aspect exciting the notice of everyone in London, and giving rise to some witty reflections in literature, particularly certain essays by Mr. Addison.¹⁴ In the end, an ambitious plan of campaign was foster'd thro' the influence of the Secretary of State—the brilliant Henry St. John, afterward Viscount Bolingbroke, and celebrated philosophick friend of Mr. Pope. A fleet of 15 warships and 40 transports, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker and mann'd with the pickt veterans of the immortal MARLBOROUGH's campaigns, was sent to Boston for an expedition against Quebec; whilst a great land force of New-England and New-York Englishmen, Palatine immigrants, and 600 Iroquois, was assembled at Albany for an attack on Montreal, now a place of vast importance as a military post and fur-trading centre. Even as far west as Wisconsin the Fox nation of Indians was expected to coöperate against the French. But all this came to naught in that gloomy year of 1711. The French, greatly alarm'd, strengthen'd their Indian alliances and prepar'd to defend Quebec with supreme desperation; yet found no attackers in view. French peasants on the coast had in August seen British vessels at sea; yet after weeks of watching nothing appear'd to the sentinels on Quebec's high ramparts. At length the truth became known: that the ambitious fleet of Sir Hovenden Walker had been wreck'd thro' poor judgment and seamanship near the mouth of the St. Lawrence; making the sea assault on Quebec impossible, and cancelling the design for a land assault on Montreal. Even the Fox Indians, who attempted to burn Detroit, came to grief; failing, and being subject to fierce French reprisals. It was a dismal hour for us, and a great one for New-France. At Quebec that lower-town church which had been renam'd *Notre-Dame de la Victoire* in 1690, after Phips's repulse, was now still further renamed *Notre-Dame des Victoires*; it being assum'd that the Virgin Mary had in two cases given France a victory through the dispersal of her enemies. The church still bears its name of 1711, tho' now on soil gloriously added to the dominions of His Britannick Majesty.

The fortunes of the war were at last decided by the glorious arms of BRITANNIA on the European continent, and in 1713 the treaty of Utrecht was sign'd in a manner advantageous to Great-Britain. In the New World we retain'd Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson's Bay country; and France agreed never to molest the Iroquois. Canada and Louisiana, however, remain'd French; and the question of

boundaries was still a sore spot. For many years no open warfare existed, though there were local troubles such as that caus'd by the French artist and ascetic Sebastian Rasles, who, independently of New-France, organis'd a settlement of devout Popish Abenaki Indians in Maine and had much friction with the New-Englanders from 1717 till his death in battle in 1724. One great source of misunderstanding was the question of the Lake Champlain region, claim'd by both France and England. In 1731 the French establish'd a garrison (Ft. St. Frederic) on the lake which develop'd into the fortress of Crown Point; yet New-England settlers were swiftly penetrating the Green Mountain region, then call'd the New-Hampshire Grants, tho' claim'd by New-York as well as by that colony. In 1735 Fort Dummer was built on the site of Brattleboro, Vermont, this region then being thought within the limits of the Massachusetts-Bay. Clearly, the expansion of both French and English was bringing them into ominous contact. Parkman well says, "The English hunter, in the lonely wilderness of Vermont, as by the warm glow of sunset he piled the spruce boughs for his woodland bed, started as a deep, low sound struck faintly on his ear, the evening gun of Fort Frederic, booming over lake and forest."¹⁵ Cape Breton Island, adjoining Nova-Scotia, being retain'd by France, a strong fortress was built upon it to serve as a guardian for the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. This stronghold, call'd *Louisbourg* in honour of the French King, was recognis'd to be a vast menace to our colonies in time of war, by reason of the ready harbourage it afforded for hostile privateers; so that its reduction was look'd upon as a necessary early feat of any coming conflict. Acadia itself, tho' under British dominion, remain'd almost totally French in race, language, and manners; English colonists being at first very slow to enter it.

At this period the westward vista of New-France was prodigiously enlarg'd by the intrepid explorations of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, and his dauntless sons Jean, Pierre, and François. Sieur de la Vérendrye, a gentleman of Canadian birth, was in 1728–30 station'd in a military capacity at the lone western post of Nipigon on Lake Superior, where he heard from Indians many tales of a great westward-flowing river, and a vast, flat, timberless country with large herds of cattle. Being desirous, like all others of his time and before, to find a westward water route to the Pacific, and thinking this a possible opportunity, La Vérendrye proceeded to Quebec and obtain'd the authority of Governor and merchants for a combin'd trading and exploring expedition in the remote and unknown west. In 1732 he started; proceeding cautiously and establishing a chain of trading-posts, each one of which form'd a safe base for further penetrations westward. As he proceeded, he met the untam'd Sioux Indians, by whom some of his men, including his eldest son Jean, were slain. One of his trading-posts occupy'd the site of the present city of Winnipeg, Manitoba. Another was at the site of the Portage la Prairie, whence he hop'd to be able to reach the Pacific. Not succeeding in this aim, but establishing other posts and conducting desultory explorations, La Vérendrye was in 1740 forc'd to return to Montreal to make adjustments with his creditors. During his absence his sons Pierre and François prest westward across the plains through the country of the Mandan Indians, and in 1743 discover'd the foothills of the Rocky Mountains. Pierre de la Vérendrye, with a party of Indians, reach'd the main range of the Rockies; but cou'd not go on toward the Pacific, from which he was indeed a thousand miles distant. The later fortunes of the La Vérendryes reveal much ingratitude on the part of New-France; the father indeed being for a time supplanted in his command of the western posts by a favourite of the Governor. Tho' at length restor'd, he was worn out by his experiences and dy'd in the year 1749; the claims of his sons being subsequently ignor'd. As openers of the American continent

the Vérendryes rank very high; part of their extream western route being later us'd as a section of the celebrated "Oregon Trail".

(3) King George's War.

In the year 1741, England having for 2 years been at war with Spain,* there broke out in Europe the War of the Austrian Succession, in which France sought to prevent the accession of Maria Theresa upon the death of her father, Emperor Charles VI. England was ally'd with Austria, and Spain with France; and it was but natural for the Anglo-French conflict, which open'd in 1744, to have its echoes in the New World, where the increasing expansion of France in the Mississippi Valley made plain the sharp rivalry of that nation with the English for control of the North-American continent. An event of great advantage to us was a treaty made with the Iroquois at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by representatives of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; by which the British claim to the Ohio Valley and to disputed northern frontiers was strengthen'd by Indian support. The Iroquois were now stronger than ever, having lately become the *Six Nations* through the admission of the Tuscaroras to the original confederation of Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagas. It was clear that from now on, our wars with the French must involve our western as well as northern boundaries. France had been sending agents eastward from the Mississippi, whilst we had been gradually spreading westward to meet them. In 1716 Governor Spottswood of Virginia, with a mounted party of Virginia gentlemen guided by rangers and Indians, crossed the Blue Ridge and open'd up the Shenandoah Valley; his expedition being call'd "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe" from the fact that its horses were the first in Virginia to be shod. From this time onward, the plan of settling the Ohio Valley was a fixt Virginian ambition; of which we shall soon see substantial developments. Meanwhile, however, the plan of immediate campaign in the present war had a far different objective; namely, that of capturing the mighty fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island, which was generally recognis'd as France's strongest outpost in the New World, and which serv'd as a nest for pirates and privateers injurious to New-England commerce. This enterprise, conducted almost solely by New-England men, was led by the Hon^{ble} William Shirley, Gent., His Majesty's Governor of the Province of y^e Massachusetts-Bay, an executive of vast courage and activity who was to play a great part in the final struggles against the French. Gov. Shirley, upon the decision in Jany. 1745 to move against Louisburg, was exceedingly diligent in securing the best advice and support; and conducted important correspondence with the Governors of New-York, Pennsylvania, and the several colonies of New-England.¹⁶ As a general for the expedition, there was appointed the capable and intelligent merchant William Pepperrell, of Kittery, Maine; and recruiting activities of profound extensiveness were everywhere conducted. On the 24th of March, 1745, the fleet with its arm'd troops sett out from Boston, being soon joyn'd by a fleet from Gt. Britain under Admiral Sir Peter Warren (who later settled in Greenwich-Village, close to the city of New-York.) From that time till July the anxiety of New-England concerning the expedition was very great. One vessell was sent back during the siege, containing important French prisoners taken at sea and outside the wall of Louisburg, who assur'd the inhabitants of Boston that Louisburg was far too stout ever to be storm'd with success. And in truth the task was of Herculean proportions, for the walls of the vast fort were of solid masonry, 30

feet in height, 40 feet thick at the base, and surrounded by a 50-foot ditch. At times, owing to the strength of the fortress and the wild and marshy nature of the surrounding country, the taking of the place was despair'd of; but New-England ingenuity found various ways of circumventing the several obstacles, and the ships in the harbour arrang'd a cannonade which well supplemented the assaults of the land batteries. At length the discontent of the French garrison, and the incapacity of their commander Duchambon, became increasingly apparent; and on the 17th of June the seemingly impregnable stronghold capitulated to the arms of His Britannick Majesty. God Save the King! The news of this glorious victory was receiv'd with the wildest joy throughout New-England, church-bells being rung, and cannon fired, in every village of the land. Boston's rejoicing was particularly keen, and is to this day perpetuated by the name of *Louisburg-Square*, that exquisite Georgian backwater on antient Beacon-Hill. Gen^l Pepperrell was, for his feat, made a baronet; the first native of New-England so to be honour'd. His portrait, shewing him in scarlet uniform before Louisburg's embattled walls, is to this day to be seen upon the walls of the Essex-Institute in Salem. Scarce any other feat of New-England arms has ever equall'd this. Of the difficulty of the siege we may form some notion by reflecting that even the sage Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, thought it a fruitless effort when it was first propos'd. Rhode-Island's contribution to this expedition was the 26-gun sloop-of-war *Tartar* (built in 1740 for service against Spain) under Capt. Daniel Fones. Tho' the vessel was sold at auction in 1748, one of its cannon is still preserv'd on Washington-Parade, in Newport. As matters turn'd out, the taking of Louisburg was (aside from the privateering in which RHODE-ISLAND was prominent) the sole actual event of this war—which has become known in history as "King George's War". Other operations, however, were anticipated, including a conquest of Canada by Shirley and Pepperrell; and the coast of New-England was strongly fortify'd by such defences as Fort Sewell, at Marblehead, which still survives as a park. What chang'd the plans of New-England was news of a great French armada under the Duc d'Anville, which had put to sea in 1746 to retake Louisburg and ravage our coast. The strength of this fleet—40 ships of war and additional transports—was such as to occasion the greatest alarm for the safety of our colonies; but chance almost miraculously remov'd the peril thro' the agency of storm, disaster, and shipwreck. The batter'd French fleet was forc'd to turn back, and its commander dy'd (nominally of apoplexy) under circumstances which strongly indicated suicide by poison. His immediate subordinate, like Brutus of old, kill'd himself by falling upon his sword. "This," says the gifted Nath: Hawthorne, Esq., "was as great a deliverance for New-England as that which Old England had experienc'd in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the Spanish Armada was wreckt upon her coast."¹⁷ GOD SAVE THE KING! Peace was made in 1748, and it was a matter of regret to New-Englanders that, as a minor phase in the negotiations, and exchanges attendant upon the conclusion of a great war, (the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle) the return of Louisburg to France was provided for (in exchange for Madras, in India.) However, the confidence of the French in their fortress had been shaken; so that it no longer represented the menace it had once been. Its second taking—in 1758, by Amherst and Wolfe—was by no means so difficult as the original siege of Pepperrell and Warren. In the Hudson Valley, King George's War was markt by a French and Indian raid upon Saratoga (now Schuylerville) in November, 1745, in which the houses were burnt, and many persons kill'd or taken as prisoners to Quebec. There were also some later raids in the same region.

*In this war, Gen. Oglethorpe of Georgia harass'd Florida.

(4) The Old French War.

The few years of nominal peace following 1748 were actually fill'd with great tension betwixt France and England in North-America, insomuch as the inevitability of a death-struggle for the continent was by everyone clearly perceiv'd. For this struggle the contestants were quite evenly match'd; our preponderance of population (15 to 1) being offset by the strategick hold of the French upon the country—the great line of forts and posts dominating the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, and this completely enclosing and limiting our own territory. The wise choice of sites for these French outposts is well shewn by the greatness of the towns into which many of them developed—or which sprang up on their sites—these including Detroit, Chicago, Vincennes, St. Louis, Natchez, and New Orleans. To neutralise this encirclement, plans were push'd forward for English expansion in the Ohio Valley; a group of Virginians forming the Ohio Company, of which Lawrence Washington, Esq. was chief manager, in 1748, with a view to planting a colony on the east bank of the upper Ohio, in territory now included in West Virginia and southwestern Pennsylvania. Upon learning of this design, the Governor of New-France, La Galissonnière, made a counter-move in 1749; sending to the Ohio Valley an expedition of 300 men under Céleron de Bienville, to claim the country in the name of the French King, and to record possession by burying inscribed leaden plates at the mouths of all the principal creeks. Before long a new line of French forts was constructed in this region, extending southward from Lake Erie (at Erie, Pa.) to where the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers forms the Ohio; (Pittsburgh, Pa.) whilst in the north, the ambitious La Galissonnière pursu'd a design of influencing the French inhabitants of Acadia—now British soil, and with a population dedicated to neutrality despite their French blood—to flock to the disputed border of their province in order to form a barrier against further English expansion. At this time the English settlements in Nova-Scotia were few and small; Halifax having been founded as recently as June, 1749, by disbanded officers, soldiers, and marines, and their families, to the number of 1400. The new town, which in 6 months grew to the extent of 300 houses, was named from my L^d Halifax, whose vigour and intelligence inspir'd the enterprise. About this time, at Quebec, La Galissonnière was replac'd as Governor by the less imperialistick La Jonquière; but the former's influence continu'd to operate in the national rivalry, by reason of his appointment to the French commission engag'd in drawing boundaries. The Ohio Company, operating from Virginia, combin'd to send explorers west of the Alleghanies; and in 1753 the Scotsman Rob^t Dinwiddie, His Majesty's Governor of Virginia, sent a messenger to warn off the French whose new forts were multiplying so swiftly. This messenger was instructed to proceed to the French fort at Venango, presenting the petition of His Britannick Maj^{ty}'s Government, whereby the Ohio Valley was claim'd by right of purchase from the Iroquois. As a messenger was selected the young half-brother of the Ohio Company's first manager lately deceas'd—George Washington, Esq., a surveyor of great skill and courage and Adj^t. Gen^l of Virginia militia, whose later fortunes and eminence fill so large a place in history. Mr. Washington was receiv'd with civility at the French posts, being referr'd by the officers at Venango to the commandant, at the more northerly Fort Le Boeuf. This gentleman promis'd Mr. Washington with great courtesy to transmit the message of Gov^r Dinwiddie to his Governor-General, Marquis Duquesne, at Quebec; after which the young envoy return'd with but a single companion to Virginia, enduring all the rigours of a midwinter wilderness. Despite the urbanity of the French officers, it was made plain that no relinquishment of the Ohio Valley was to be expected; hence the Ohio Company prepar'd

to assert its right to the region by force of arms. In the spring of 1754 a new-raisd company of Virginia backwoodsmen under Capt. Wm. Trent began to build a fort at the important strategick junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela (Pittsburgh), but were interrupted and driven off by a large party of Frenchmen and Indians, who completed the fort for themselves, under the name of Ft. Duquesne. At the time of this reverse, Major Washington was advancing with another company; but upon hearing of Trent's repulse decided to pause and build another fort on the Monongahela, (in the region known as "Great Meadows") awaiting the arrival of further troops. This small post, call'd Ft. Necessity, lay about 40 miles south of Ft. Duquesne; and the French, upon hearing of it, sent a scouting party under M. de Jumonville to watch the operations there. Maj. Washington, hearing of this, secured the aid of friendly Indians and set upon the French party under cover of a dark, rainy night; opening fire whilst the Frenchmen were reaching for their arms. In the ensuing action of a quarter of an hour, ten of the French, including de Jumonville himself, were kill'd, and 21 were taken prisoners. The dead were scalp'd by the Indian allies. This was Maj. Washington's first experience under fire, and in a letter to his brother he said, "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." This observation being reported to King George the Second—himself a man of the greatest courage and a hero of Dettingen—His Maj^{ty} dryly observ'd, "He wou'd not say so, if he had been us'd to hear many." The massacre of de Jumonville's expedition hath ever been held by the French to have constituted a gravely treacherous crime; it being their claim, that the party was approaching as a friendly embassy. To this day the same opinion exists amongst them, so that a travel folder of the year 1929, in explaining the name of Rue de Jumonville in Quebec, speaks of the unfortunate officer as "assassinated under Washington." Washington himself was sensible of the charge levell'd against him, but display'd M. de Jumonville's captur'd instructions as proof that the delegation was no open embassy, but in truth a scouting-party. After this engagement, hearing that a large body of Frenchmen was about to attack him in reprisal, Maj. Washington retir'd to Ft. Necessity and defended himself for an entire day. In the evening, however, he was oblig'd to surrender to a force of 900 French and Indians commanded by the brother of de Jumonville. Being offer'd fair terms, Maj. Washington retir'd to Virginia in good order; leaving the Ohio Valley, for the time, in French hands.

Open war now being highly imminent, representatives of the northern colonies met at Albany to discuss plans for defence against the French. Delegates from the Iroquois were also present, warning the colonists that it was the intention of France to drive every Englishman out of the country. It was at this Albany convention of 1754 that the learned Dr. Franklin of Philad^a propos'd the first systematick plan of colonial union; a plan, however, which suffer'd defeat. The only other delegate who fully supported this plan was the eminent Stephen Hopkins, of PROVIDENCE in RHODE-ISLAND. By the early part of 1755, it was clear that war wou'd occur at any moment. Pacifick negotiations betwixt the English and French courts still continu'd, yet strong armies were sent out to the New World from both countries—the British commanded by the bold but stupid and tasteless Edward Braddock, and the French by the experienced veteran Baron Dieskau. Braddock safely arriv'd in Chesapeake Bay, proceeding thereafter to Williamsburg, Annapolis, and Alexandria. In Alexandria he occupy'd the old Carlisle house, still standing, and held an important convocation of colonial governors, whilst recruits for an Ohio campaign were assembled. The old tavern in Alexandria where Mr. Washington, as a Colonel of Virginia militia, obtain'd recruits for this (or the 1759) campaign, is still standing and mark'd by a tablet. Baron Dieskau's fleet,

however, was intercepted at sea by a squadron of His Britannick Maj^{ty's} vessels under Adm^l Boscawen; who, notwithstanding the absence of any declaration of war, captur'd two of the French ships and sent great alarm through the rest. In June Baron Dieskau reach'd Quebec, bringing with him a new governor to succeed Marquis Duquesne. This gentleman was the younger Marquis de Vaudreuil, himself born in New-France, who had seen Canadian service and had been a governor of Louisiana. From now onward, His Maj^{ty's} vessels harass'd the ships of France to the utmost possible extent; till at length the French ambassador, Marquis de Mirepoix, left the court of London in recognition that war had actually begun. Thus commenc'd the struggle known in America as the "Old French War" or "French and Indian War", and in Europe as the "Seven Years' War"—though an actual declaration did not take place till May of the year 1756. The European phase of this conflict was markt by our alliance with the Prussian King, Frederick the Great, and its Asiatick echoes included the exploits of the great CLIVE in India. Our plan of campaign in America, in addition to much privateering in which RHODE-ISLAND took a great part, provided for a simultaneous push on all fronts, design'd to dislodge the French from those outposts where they most encroach'd upon the territory claim'd by us. One army under Col. Monckton was to operate in Acadia where the French disputed our frontiers. Another, under Gen. Wm. Johnson (the friend of the Iroquois), was to take Crown Point on Lake Champlain, where the enemy had establish'd a wedge betwixt our New-York and New-England dominions. A third under Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts was to take Ft. Niagara. And fourth, the present active theatre of dissention was to be attended to by Genl. Braddock himself, when with two regiments of British regulars, plus as strong a force of Virginia militia as possible, was to capture Ft. Duquesne and drive the French from the Ohio Valley. Of all these operations, the fourth was obviously of greatest immediate importance; and Braddock took pains to collect and train a great force, with ample supplies, at Ft. Cumberland (nam'd for H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, Captain-Gen^l of His Maj^{ty's} forces) in the extream west of Maryland just east of the Alleghanies.

The melancholy fate of Braddock and his army, commemorated by a special postage-stamp in the U.S. in 1930, is one of the most celebrated tragedies of history. Early in June, 1755, he set forth into the untrodden wilderness; with axemen hewing a path, and heavy supply wagons heaving and rumbling through swamps and over stump-clogged swaths. With the Virginia militia was Col. George Washington, who cou'd have given valuable advice on the strategy to use in forest warfare against a largely Indian enemy. Braddock, however, had a great and irrational prejudice against the outwardly awkward provincials; and insisted on following the conventional methods of European warfare. Also in the party were Horatio and Tho: Gage, destin'd to serve on opposite sides of a later war. The Monongahela was twice forded with great difficulty; and the French at Ft. Duquesne, learning of the approaching column, were thrown into great dismay. Contrecoeur, the commandant, actually thought of retreat, but a bold captain of the garrison, Beaujeu, offer'd to lead a party of French and Indians to attack the column on its line of march. The Indians were of varied sources; some of them from Canada, including the Hurons settled at Lorette, near Quebec. It was only with difficulty that Beaujeu could obtain followers; but once he had persuaded his men to go, they began to work themselves up to a great pitch of martial ardour. The attack was made whilst Braddock's column was in a dense stretch of forest, and was an ambush of the most sudden and successful sort. The Indians, yelling savagely, fell upon the unprepar'd column with a murderous musket fire; throwing the season'd troops from Britain into a fearsome panick. Beaujeu himself was kill'd by the first volley from

our troops, but his subordinate Dumas capably took his place. Our regulars, bewilderd and ignorant how to proceed in so unaccustom'd a situation, were slaughter'd like sheep; and Braddock himself, five horses having been shot from under him, receiv'd a mortal wound. Whilst on the field he did more harm than good, insomuch as he stopt the ingenious Virginians from successfully adopting the Indian mode of shooting from behind trees—forcing them to form in conventional platoons and perish beneath the bullets of hidden adversaries. After three hours of this nightmare fighting, during which Colo: Washington had two horses shot from under him and received four bullets in his cloaths, (tho' escaping unwounded) the survivors of the column spontaneously broke into a wild generall flight toward the Monongahela. The Virginia militia was the least precipitate and disorganis'd, and it was Col. Washington who bury'd Gen. Braddock upon his death a few days after. The regulars shew'd the greatest fright of all; and in generall, the bulk of the army fled to Philadelphia without thought of the unprotected settlers left to the fury of their salvage pursuers.

Meanwhile the Monckton expedition charg'd with the conquest of Acadia—that is, the reduction of the French forts in those boundary regions still claim'd by France—had a very easy victory. Moreover, three thousand men from the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, under Gen^l Winslow, brought the whole disputed region (including those mainland regions distinct from the peninsula of Nova-Scotia, now forming the province of New-Brunswick) most completely under His Maj^{ty's} authority, where it hath ever since remain'd without dispute. A stern and unfortunate incident connected with this victory is the memorable deportation of all the French inhabitants of Acadia to other parts of the British dominions in America; an event forming the theme of Prof. Longfellow's celebrated sentimental poem intitul'd "Evangeline". This drastick step was deem'd necessary by reason of the partiality of these inhabitants toward the French cause, notwithstanding their position as British subjects since 1713. It is very probable that partiality did exist to a troublesome extent; for the ties of blood are strong, and the simple habitants cannot have felt any great change when their region pass'd from the sphere of the French crown. French priests under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec undoubtedly urg'd the people to refrain from swearing allegiance to His Britannick Majesty, and we have seen how the ambitious Governor La Galissonnière sought to concentrate them along the disputed border and secure their coöperation against British expansion. They certainly supply'd their French kinsfolk with provisions, and sometimes took part in French and Indian raids on our settlements—tho' they alleg'd that they did the latter only under intimidation from the Micmacs, the Indians of the region. In 1713 they had been given a choice of leaving Acadia or taking our oath, but had done neither. It must be admitted that we sought to discourage their emigration; insomuch as we did not wish our new province depopulated, or the neighbouring French provinces strengthen'd by an influx. Most of the Acadians were honest and simple folk who probably wish'd to remain on their old lands in a state of neutrality. Had they been let alone by their kinsfolk under the French King, it is likely that they wou'd have given us no trouble. Now, in the midst of this desperate war, it was necessary to remove every obstacle; and the opinion gain'd ground that it wou'd be better to let Nova-Scotia become a free field for British settlement and civilisation. Accordingly it was decided to scatter the 7000 Acadians throughout our other colonies, where they might neither aid the French nor form centres of disaffection on His Maj^{ty's} soil. In the end they were collected, told that their lands and possessions were forfeited to the crown, and sent aboard transports bound for various parts of the colonies. In certain cases families were separated by accident, and in almost all cases melancholy and suffering form'd the lot of the

refugees; who were deliver'd penniless to lands where the language and manners were unknown to them. Many vainly try'd to return, and others suffer'd much hostility from the populations amongst whom they were deposited. Those in Boston often sank to the state of servants and paupers. In Georgia, after a vain attempt to return to Acadia, they develop'd into a distinct element having the corrupted name of 'Cajins. Some in the south manag'd to filter across the border to French-speaking Louisiana. But the main purpose of the deportation succeeded, so that Nova-Scotia is today a thoroughly English-speaking province. God Save the King.

Governor Shirley's expedition against Niagara came to nothing, owing to the danger of a French attack on his base at Ft. Oswego, in New-York. Despite his courage, it is possible that he was but a poor strategist; and in 1756 he was depriv'd of his command.

More successful was the expedition against the French around Lake Champlain, headed by the redoubtable Genl. W^m. Johnson. Johnson was a native of Ireland and a nephew of the naval victor of Louisburg, Admiral Sir Peter Warren. Coming to the Province of New-York in 1734, he at once took charge of a great tract of wild land belonging to his uncle in the northern country of the Mohawks. There he liv'd in feudal state; building two great mansions and acquiring unlimited influence over the neighbouring Iroquois, with whom he was on terms of the closest intimacy—taking for his second wife a sister of the celebrated Mohawk war-chief Joseph Brant. On this occasion the troops from New-York and all the New-England colonies were muster'd at Albany; Genl. Johnson's force against Crown Point consisting chiefly of Connecticut and Massachusetts militia, plus 500 New-Hampshire foresters, and 4 companies from RHODE-ISLAND in the form of a miniature regiment. The enemy, resolv'd to hold Crown Point at any cost, summon'd to active service every able-body'd man in the Montreal district; so that at harvest time reapers had to be brought from Three Rivers and Quebec.

Early in August 1755 the New-England troops, under Maj-Gen^l Phinakas Lyman, built Fort-Edward at the 12-mile portage betwixt the Hudson and the chain of lakes and rivers emptying into the St. Lawrence. Later in the month Gen^l Johnson led an untrain'd force of 3400, including Indians, across the portage to the wilderness lake below Champlain which the French had call'd "Holy Sacrament". This he renam'd Lake-George, in honour of His Britannick Maj^{ty}; and upon its southern shoar the expedition made an unfortify'd camp—later Ft. William Henry. Meanwhile, in Quebec, Marquis de Vaudreuil had heard of the operations in this region; and had order'd Baron Dieskau to abandon the contemplated attack on Oswego—moving against the new Ft. Edward instead. This the Baron did, with 600 Canadian Iroquois, 600 French-Canadians, and 200 regulars from France. Mistaking his way, however, he ultimately found himself near Lake-George. Here the Indian allies profest willingness to attack the unfortify'd camp, tho' they refus'd to storm Ft. Edward. At midnight of Sept. 7 Gen^l Johnson heard of the enemy's approach, and at dawn sent out a thousand men to reconnoitre. These were defeated with a loss of both English and Indian leaders* after encountering an ambush; but being shrewd provincials and Indians, unhamper'd by the conventional military notions which had prov'd Braddock's undoing, they made a slow, steady, fighting retreat with a widening front which work'd gradual havock amongst their pursuers. At last reinforcements came from the camp, and the pursuit was check'd. Meanwhile the camp had been rudely fortify'd with a log breastwork, so

that it afforded a good haven for the defeated party, and presented a less hopeless front against the inevitable attack of Baron Dieskau's troops. In the end, the tables were completely turned. Dieskau made no rush of assault, but meerly kept up a steady fire against the camp. After several hours our troops, abandoning the defensive, burst out of the camp in a sudden attack on the enemy which turn'd out to be a compleat victory. Dieskau himself was wounded and captur'd, whilst the fleeing bulk of the army were utterly routed and dispers'd by a party of New-York and New-Hampshire rangers from Ft. Edward. For this victory Gen^l Johnson was made a baronet and appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern tribes. Many, however, assign chief credit to Gen. Lyman, and the brave New-England troops. His subsequent career was one of great honour and usefulness, but was sadden'd by the approaching differences betwixt the colonists and their Sovereign. He dy'd suddenly in the summer of 1774, and there are not lacking those who attribute his death to a suicide brought on by the political tension of the times. Sir William Johnson had his crudenesses and vanities, but he must ever be reckon'd one of the greatest figures of our colonial history.

A large part of the events of this war centre around the same region of Lake-George, in the Province of New-York. At the northern point of the lake—or rather, on Lake Champlain but near the northern point of Lake George—the French now planted the mighty fortress of Carillon (later Ticonderoga); whilst Johnson built Fort William Henry (nam'd for the Duke of Cumberland) at the lake's southern point, near the camp at which he had defeated Dieskau. It is unfortunate that Johnson did not, as Gov^r Shirley advis'd, follow up his victory by a pursuit of the French; for as it was, the plan of campaign cannot be said to have been fulfill'd. Not only was Crown Point not taken, but a new French stronghold had arisen still farther south. Thus ended the 1755 chapter of this most complex and extensive of all the French wars in North-America. In 1756 the French cause was strengthen'd by the sending of that mighty and illustrious warrior, Field-Marshal Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de St. V^{er}an, as commander of the army in Canada. Marquis de Montcalm, a gentleman of the highest genius and cultivation, and of the widest attainments in military science, was amongst the noblest adversaries with whom we have ever had to contend; and but for the failure of Marquis de Vaudreuil to work in harmony with him, might have secur'd the French successes of which he just fell short. His reputation had preceded him; and the Indians were astonisht to behold a man of meerly medium height, when they had expected to encounter a giant. "We thought," they said, "his head would have been lost in the clouds." Later, imprest by his qualities, an antient chief said to him, "When I look into your eyes I see the height of the pine and the wings of the eagle." Montcalm himself, in writing to his Sovereign, declar'd—"I will save New-France or perish in the attempt." History relates how tragically this prophecy was fulfill'd.

The immediately following years of the war were highly unfavourable for us, due largely to the genius of Marquis de Montcalm. An ambitious plan of parallel campaigns, like that of the preceding season, was propos'd by a congress of colonial governors at New-York in December, 1855; but never reach'd the point of adoption. In England, the Earl of Loudon, a friend of my L^d Halifax, was appointed commander-in-chief over all His Maj^{ty}'s armies in continental America; with my L^d Abercrombie as second in command. Of these new commanders, Abercrombie arriv'd in Albany in June, and Loudon in July. Ft. Oswego, in New-York on the southern shoar of Lake Ontario, was then badly menac'd by a French army, yet no quick defensive step was taken. In mid-August Montcalm mov'd against Oswego and captur'd it without any siege beyond a preliminary skirmish and some wall-rending gunfire. The fortress was levell'd to

*Col. Ephraim Williams of Deerfield, and the corpulent old Mohawk chieftain Hendrick.

the ground, and a great number of prisoners, besides captur'd supplies, borne down the St. Lawrence to Quebec. The colours of the defeated garrison were given as trophies to the churches of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, and the omnipresent Jesuits planted a triumphal cross on the site of the fort.

In the period following this event the French (tho' oppress'd by a famine in Canada, due to lack of ploughing and planting amidst the rigours of war) greatly strengthen'd their standing amongst the Indians, seriously rivalling the attempts of Sir W. Johnson to hold them as our allies. The next summer witness a tremendous reverse for our arms; namely, the famous capture and massacre of Ft. William Henry. Montcalm, with a great force of 6000 Frenchmen and 2000 Indians assembled from every part of Canada, descended to Lake George in August and besieg'd our fortress with irresistible strength. With him was the son of the Governor, Vaudreuil; and his spirits were high from his having just receiv'd the red ribbon of the Order of St. Louis from the French King. Ft. William Henry was commanded by the intrepid Lt. Col. Monro, who had but a slight force. At Ft. Edward was the pusillanimous Webb with the force of 4000; but so great was his cowardice, that instead of arranging to help Monro, he sent him a note exaggerating the size of the French force and advising him to surrender. Montcalm captur'd this note, but sent it on to his destination since it favour'd rather than acted against the French purpose. On Aug¹ 4th, 1757, Montcalm had urg'd Monro to surrender, but receiv'd a defiant answer. After about a week's siege, the hopelessness of defence having been made plain by the note from Webb, the brave commandant at last capitulated, and march'd his men out of the fort with full honours, under a pledge that they wou'd not serve against the French for 18 months. Montcalm, in granting this honourable surrender, had urged upon his Indian allies the need of helping him fulfil its liberal obligations, and had taken care to keep all intoxicating liquors from them. The salvages, however, somehow obtaining liquor, held a nocturnal session of revelry; and at dawn attack'd the defeated garrison in a general massacre, tomahawking and scalping with wild fury despite the efforts of the French to stop them. In view of the great number of French soldiers present, some have disputed the sincerity of Montcalm's attempt to check the treacherous carnage. It is certain, however, that he and other officers dash'd amongst the salvages at great personal risk, trying in vain to restrain them. He is said to have cry'd out, "Kill me, but spare the English who are under my protection." Montcalm destroy'd the fortress and bore off abundant supplies. Of his own men, only 53 had been killed or wounded. In their subsequent plans both Gen^l Webb and L^{td} Loudon display'd a most reprehensible timidity; but their alarum was in vain, since Montcalm retir'd to Ft. Carillon, or Ticonderoga, without following up his victory. The effect of the massacre upon the population of this region was prodigious, and the calamity never ceas'd to be talk'd about. A friend of the present writer—Jonathan E. Hoag, Esq^r of Greenwich, in New-York, who dy'd in 1927 at the age of 96—was in his youth told of it at first-hand by his great-aunt, (who liv'd to be 106) who was a child at the time of the massacre.¹⁸

Our fortunes in the war were now at their lowest ebb, largely owing to the incompetent ministry in power at home. In 1758, the wise and eminent William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, came to the helm; and immediately a more intelligent plan of campaign and selection of leaders develop'd. Pitt address the colonial governors in a letter promising a large force from England and urging them to raise as many local troops as possible, and there was outlin'd a tripartite mode of attack upon the French: first, a taking of Louisburg, repeating the old feat of 1745; second, an assault on Ticonderoga; and third, the capture, at last, of Fort Duquesne in the Ohio Valley. Meanwhile His Maj^{ty}'s navy was

helping to keep supplies from the French at Quebec; with such success that Montcalm confess'd a state of partial famine, and even spoke despondingly of the ultimate issue. It is perhaps true, that Britannia's rule of the waves was in the end a more potently decisive factor in the conquest of Canada than any of the famous operations by land. Gradually it became impossible for any adequate communication to exist between Quebec and Old France; a condition aggravated by the loss of Louisburg. Pitt's choice of commanders was almost invariable wise; and it is at this stage that we behold the advent of such men as Sir Jeffrey Amherst and the immortal JAMES WOLFE, the latter 31 years of age, and a veteran of the European fields of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Laffeldt. Gen. Wolfe, brave, kindly, modest, and exemplary in all the relations of life, was a person of slight frame and ailing constitution whose military genius and courage kept him to the fore when others would have lapsed into obscurity under equal burthens. To Amherst and Wolfe was entrusted the capture of Louisburg, the naval support of A^{dms} Boscawen being given them. Genl. Forbes was to attend to the Ohio Valley, whilst my L^d Howe and Gen^l Abercrombie were to take Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

Amherst and Wolfe reach'd Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the 28th of May, 1758. On June 8 the expedition landed on Cape Breton Island near Louisburg, beginning the siege on the same day. Various outer works were gradually captur'd, till at length the heroic French commander, Chevalier de Drucour, was forc'd to surrender. On July 27th His Maj^{ty}'s forces occupy'd Louisburg, and in consequence became masters of Cape Breton and Prince Edward's Islands, over which the banner of ENGLAND has never since ceas'd to float. God Save the King! In the conduct of the siege—a much less arduous one than that of 1745—Adm^l Boscawen gave adequate support, for which he receiv'd an unanimous tribute from the House of Commons. In the land forces, Maj. Isaac Barré and Lieut. Rich^d Montgomery achiev'd enviable distinction. Trophies were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and all New-England rejoic'd anew, as it had done in 1745. France's greatest seaboard fortress in the New World had fallen, and thenceforward the Old and New France cou'd communicate only with difficulty. There had been vague thoughts of an attack upon Quebec itself—mighty citadel of citadels and centre of all French life in America—but the season was now too far advanc'd for the planning of a siege, whilst the aid of the great Amherst was needed in the operations around Lake-George. In the taking of Louisburg we employ'd an army of 14,000, and a fleet of 20 ships of the line and 18 frigates. From the French were taken 5737 prisoners and 120 cannon; their naval loss being 5 ships of the line and 4 frigates.

In the operations around Lake-George, this great victory was unhappily offset by disaster. The incompetent L^{td} Loudon having return'd to England, Gen^l L^d Abercrombie remain'd as Commander-in-Chief. He, with my L^d Howe, now assembled the greatest arm'd body of Europeans ever muster'd upon this continent in an attempt to take Ft. Ticonderoga. In all there were 16,000 men, of whom 9000 were provincials; and these were aided by a great train of artillery. Sailing up Lake George on a July morning in an armada of 1035 boats, the glittering army afforded an example of impressive pageantry which no participant or spectator ever forgot. Later, however, disaster ensued. Incompetent guidance and imperfect knowledge of the fortress caus'd the troops to reach their goal in poor formation for attack, and a rash assault without artillery was order'd. In that brave but futile attempt, which lasted upward of four hours, we lost full 2000 men in kill'd and wounded. In the end there was a precipitate retreat in boats across Lake George, and an end of the summer's hopes in this region. In this engagement my L^d Howe was kill'd.

What sav'd this campaign from compleat ignominy was its brilliant sequel; when Colo: Bradstreet secur'd my L^d Abercrombie's permission to take 3000 men for an expedition against Ft. Frontenac (now Kingston) on the north side of Lake Ontario, that antient outpost about which so much military and exploring history has revolv'd. This expedition sail'd in open boats across Lake Ontario, landed within a mile of the fort, and in two days compell'd the French commandant to surrender. There were here captur'd 9 arm'd vessels, 60 cannon, 16 mortars, and a great amount of ammunition and other supplies. God Save the King! Meanwhile Gen^l Amherst, hearing of L^d Abercrombie's disaster, hasten'd from Louisburg with four regiments to ensure the safety of the Lake George region. Abercrombie return'd to England in November, but escap'd censure for his poor campaigns and general incapacity. He had never been a great commander, and for the success of the Ticonderoga campaign L^d Howe had really been rely'd upon. Other officers in that campaign were Capt. John Stark of New-Hampshire and Major Israel Putnam; both prominent in the subsequent lamentable rebellion against His Maj^{ty}'s authority.

The campaign of Gen. Jas. Forbes against Ft. Duquesne was intrusted to the provincials of the central and southern colonies. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South-Carolina contributed troops, and among the later-celebrated persons participating were the painter Benj: West, Anthony Wayne, and Colo: G^o Washington. Its prosecution was greatly delay'd by reason of the serious illness of Gen^l Forbes, and from the desire to make the route of the army—the same that was follow'd by Braddock's ill-fated column—a well-built road to serve as a future generall approach to the West; but it none the less mov'd steadily on; very largely owing to the skill of Col. Washington as a guide and leader. In September a reconnoitring detachment which had gone on ahead without orders was captur'd by the garrison of Ft. Duquesne, which amounted to not more than 800 men, including Indians. In November, when only half the distance had been cover'd, it was decided to advance no further that season; but Col. Washington, having learn'd from prisoners of the garrison's weakness, secur'd permission to go on with 2500 pick'd men. This he did with much rapidity; so that the Frenchmen, hearing of his approach, set fire to the fort and retreated down the Ohio. Washington, with the veteran Armstrong who had joyn'd him with 1000 men, enter'd the ruins of the vacant fort on the evening of Saturday, Nov. 25th, 1758. The flag of His Britannick Maj^{ty} was rais'd by Armstrong's own hand and the place was, at the suggestion of Gen^l Forbes, renam'd *Fort Pitt*—later *Pittsburgh*—in honour of William Pitt; an appellation which still designated the vast city which arose there. Despite the failure at Ticonderoga, the year 1758 had prov'd a favourable one for our arms, and arous'd the hope that all of New-France might yet be conquer'd. The French, on their side, likewise saw that the tide had turn'd; and Marquis de Montcalm wrote to his government of the impending doom, which only some miracle, or some vast error on our part, cou'd avert. The population of Canada was not above 82,000, of whom only 7000 were able to bear arms. Food was scarce because of untill'd fields, livestock was meagre, soldiers were unpaid, and financial corruption was undermining the local government. At the last, however, desperation arous'd the people to a dogged resistance; and they resolv'd to defend themselves to the utmost. Prayers were offer'd up in the churches, and the priests us'd all their exaggerated influence to stir the people to action. There were masses and penances to avert divine wrath from the colony, and even old men, women and children were order'd into the fields to reap the gravely needed harvest.

For the year 1759 a quadruple campaign was plann'd. Gen^l Stanwix was to complete the British hold on the Ohio Valley forts, from Pittsburgh to Erie. Gen^l Prideaux,

with Sir W: Johnson, was to attack the French at Ft. Niagara, repeating the earlier frustrated design of Gov^r Shirley. Gen^l Amherst was to move against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, in the central and most sanguinary region of the war. And foremost of all, Gen^l Wolfe was to threaten the very centre and nucleus of the French power—the cliff-guarded and seemingly impregnable fortress of QUEBECK itself. By these three campaigns, it was thought likely that all Canada might be reduc'd.

Ft. Niagara, first built by La Salle and strongly fortify'd by Denonville, was invested in July; the expedition having sail'd along Lake Ontario. During the siege Gen^l Prideaux was kill'd by the bursting of a cohorn, and Sir W: Johnson succeeded to the command. French reinforcements, marching up from the nearest forts, (Detroit, Presqu'Isle, Le Boeuf, and Venango) were defeated and put to flight; and on July 25 the garrison of 600 capitulated. The province of New-York extended its territory to the Niagara River and Lake Erie; Gen^l Stanwix having meanwhile taken the whole line of Ohio forts—Venango, Le Boeuf, and Presqu'Isle. At this point the French became very apprehensive about the safety of Montreal; and Montcalm's second in command, Chevalier de Lévis Leran, sought to occupy the passes of the St. Lawrence (Mt. Ogdensburg, N.Y.) in protection of it, coming from Quebec with a very meagre force. Amherst ordered Lt. Col. Gage to forestall this move, but the latter (now successor to Prideaux) neglected to do so.

At the tragick old Lake George battle-ground, conditions had so chang'd that operations savour'd of anticlimax. Amherst reach'd Ticonderoga with one division on July 22nd; but most of the garrison had retir'd to Crown Point and the rest soon surrender'd. After refortifying Ticonderoga for our own use, Amherst march'd north to Crown Point—Ft. St. Frederic—but found that place already deserted. Seizing and strengthening the empty fort,* Gen. Amherst wish'd to follow the French to their new stronghold on the Isle aux Noix, at the north end of Lake Champlain—a powerful camp of 3500 men and adequate artillery—but was prevented by lack of naval equipment.

The stage was now sett for the climax of the drama—the great mass'd attack upon QUEBECK itself—a stronghold which had defy'd the strength of Phips, and had been the vain hope of Sir Hovenden Walker; a fortress whose invincible might had become a legend, and whose precipitous cliffs had known no conqueror since the early days of Sir David Kirke. Always dream'd of as the final key to the conquest of New-France, its reduction was now to be seriously attempted. Yet even in view of the weaken'd state of the French, 'tis not likely we wou'd have taken it in this campaign, but for the genius of that illustrious warrior and gentleman who lay'd down his life in the accomplishment of the Herculean feat—the immortal JAMES WOLFE, whom posterity has enshrin'd as one of the glories of ENGLAND and of mankind.

(5) The Fall of New-France.

Steps toward the conquest of Quebec had begun as soon as the season permitted; Wolfe making Louisburg his base for planning his campaign and assembling his forces. His army compris'd 8 regiments, 2 battalions of royal Americans, 3 companies of rangers, artillery, and a brigade of engineers; forming in all about 8000 men. The fleet—22 ships of the line, 22 frigates and arm'd vessels, and 119 transports—was commanded by Adm^l Saunders, whose grave in Westminster-Abbey (he dy'd in 1775) is about to be adorn'd with a memorial offer'd to the Dean of Westminster in 1930 by Prime-Minister Bennett

*He had been criticis'd for doing this, since the now certain conquest of Canada wou'd surely render it useless. Amherst was a brave and noble officer, but wanting in supreme genius.

of the Dominion of Canada. Among those on the ships were Jervis, afterward L^d St. Vincent, and Capt. James Cook, later fam'd as a navigator and explorer, and a lineal ancestor of the linguist and musician Alfred Galpin. Of the land forces, some of the commanders were Rob^t Monckton, later Gov^r of N Y and conqueror of Martinique, George Townshend, the statesman, Genl. James Murray, Isaac Barré, Col. Guy Carleton, and Lt. Col. (later Sir Wm.) Howe. History will have more to say of all of these men.

On June 26, 1759, this armada, after a safe trip up the St. Lawrence, for which great credit is due to Adm^l Saunders, arriv'd at the Isle of Orleans, near Quebec, and made a camp. The French, meanwhile, under Montcalm, were strongly fortify'd at Beauport, on the northern shoar, where in 1690 a landing-party of Sir W. Phips was defeated; their intrenchments extending from the St. Charles River, close to the city, on the west, to the Great Falls of the Montmorency on the east. Above Quebec, for the space of over nine miles, every known landing place was guarded. At first the French vainly try'd to harass our fleet with fire-ships, but it soon became clear that we had full command of the river. On the night of June 29 Monckton occupy'd Pt. Lévis, the great cliff region across the river from Quebec, and no attempt to dislodge him was found practicable. Gunfire from this point considerably damaged Quebec's lower town—almost, indeed, destroying it—and even the upper town was not safe from shells. Seeing that the east bank of the Montmorency was higher than the ground where the French were array'd, Wolfe cross'd thither and camp'd; the farmhouse inhabited by him being still in existence and in good condition. He also sail'd up the river beyond Quebec, looking for landing-places and wondering how the precipitous cliff might be scaled. Once on the plateau containing the upper town, his army wou'd be assur'd of success. On the last day of July a landing was made just west of the Montmorency, in front of the French lines, but the impetuosity of the advance detachments brought on a disorder leading to a repulse. Attempts were made, thro' Gen^l Murray, to communicate with Amherst; but no success attended this step. The fall of Niagara and the abandonment of Ticonderoga and Crown Point were learn'd of, but Amherst made no real attempt to conquer the 3000 French at Isle-aux-Noix and proceed against Quebec. As when Phips had vainly expected help by land, Wolfe was forc'd to act single handed. At this stage his health, undermin'd by fever, gravel, and rheumatism, was also a vast obstacle to the enterprise.

Thus for weeks the siege remain'd at a virtual deadlock—proud Quebec being ever visible on its heav'n-scaling height; so near and yet so far; a perpetual goal, symbol, and tantalisation. Seen in the morning light with its frowning batteries and bastions, its red roofs and glistening silver steeples, and its great citadel on the Cape Diamond promontory towering above all the rest, it form'd a spectacle of almost supernatural loveliness and impressiveness—as indeed it has done at all stages of its history. The great stone fortress, convents, and churches presented much the same aspect as in Phips's time; though there were many more houses, and a somewhat greater sprinkling of spires. At some time in August, whilst Wolfe lay ill in the white-walled, curving-eaved farmhouse at Montmorency, Gens. Monckton, Townshend, and Murray held a council at which was adopted the plan of campaign that actually succeeded. The idea was to divide the army; leaving a part where it was to hold the enemy's attention by false attacks, whilst another force quietly ascended the river by night, climb perilously up the cliff behind the city, and draw Montcalm into a fight on the plateau.

Early in September this design was put into execution, Adm^l Holmes passing up the river with ships and transports whilst a force of 5000 march'd in the same direction along the southern or Lévis shore. Montcalm, half-suspecting the plan, dispatch'd Bou-

gainville to watch their movements and guard the northern shoar. On the night of the 12th, which was clear, calm, and moonless, 30 boats with 1600 men put out from the southern shoar some two hours before dawn; drifting across the river on the ebb tide (for the St. L. at this point is really an arm of the sea rather than a river) without the noise of rowing. Genl. Wolfe, having improv'd somewhat in health, commanded in person; and during the passage discuss'd with other officers the celebrated *Elegy* by Mr. Gray, which he had lately seen for the first time. Having recited the lines—including that which ran, with such melancholy prophecy, "The paths of glory lead but to the grave"¹⁹—the general observ'd, that he wou'd rather have written that poem than take Quebec on the morrow. Approaching the northern shoar, the boats were hail'd by a French sentry; but a captain of Fraser's Highlanders, knowing French like a native, was able to answer without arousing his suspicion. A landing was safely made some distance above the city—the place being now known as Wolfe's Cove—at a point where a steep narrow path or defile led up the face of the vast precipice. Wolfe was at first sceptical about the possibility of ascent; but it was indeed found feasible, and attempted at once. A small guard at the top was quickly overcome; and before dawn all the boats had landed; their occupants swarming up the cliff and forming in battle array on the plateau above. Montcalm, of course, soon heard of the move; and hasten'd across the St. Charles to the Quebec shoar. His troops were greatly reduc'd through dispersal, disaffection, and famine, but he resolv'd to do the best he cou'd with 7500 men—5 battalions from France plus some arm'd local habitants. It was, of course, a vast disappointment to him that he had not been able to hold our troops off until winter; when the cold wou'd have hamper'd an attack. Climbing to the upper-town level, Montcalm led his men west of the city walls to the region now built over and known as the St. Louis suburb, but then open pasture land, and known as the "Plains of Abraham" from its having been once own'd by the famous early river pilot, the Scotsman Abraham Martin. Meanwhile Wolfe's troops—season'd Englishmen, kilted Highlanders, and hardy provincials—had march'd across the open region now occupy'd by Battlefield Park and drawn up on a line approximately the present Rue de Salaberry. Ignoring the desultory fire from French sharpshooters station'd in the surrounding woods and cornfields, Wolfe waited for the close advance of Montcalm's main divisions. Not till the enemy was within 40 yards was the command to fire issued. Then indeed the British musketry blaz'd forth in a single titanick fusilade, wreaking almost indescribable havoc amongst the paralysed French ranks. At the second British volley the enemy shrank back with unmistakable fear, yet still continued for a few moments to return the fire. Then, amidst a wild and triumphant cheering, our men began to advance and press the French back—sweeping all before them and finally bursting into a Berserk run and orgy of slaughter. The Highlanders hack'd through whole rows of Frenchmen, pursuing the killing till the very walls of the city (the present line of walls, now far within the settled urban area) were reach'd. "Never," says Parkman, "was a victory more quick or more decisive."²⁰ The enemy had lost 1500 men, kill'd wounded, and captur'd; the residue either escaping within the walls or fleeing across the St. Charles to the main encampment. At last our own lines re-form'd themselves on the plain; a rear attack by Bougainville having been abandon'd when the strength and preparedness of our force was perceiv'd by him. God Save the King! Yet in this glorious victory we had lost the greatest armament of our army, and the man who made the victory itself a reality; for in the midst of the charge the immortal WOLFE receiv'd his fatal wounds. Hit first in the wrist, later in the side, and finally in the chest, the commander fell at the head of his grenadiers and was borne to the rear by four soldiers. He knew he could not survive, and

refus'd the services of a surgeon. Those around him, sadden'd tho' they were, cou'd not help observing with pride and satisfaction the victory that was occurring. "See how they run!" cry'd an officer; whereat Gen^l Wolfe, opening eyes already closed by approaching death, ask'd "Who run?" "The enemy, Sir," he was told, "they give way everywhere." Dying tho' he was, Wolfe was still the general. "Then," he said, "tell Col. Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I will die in peace." These were his last words. A moment later, the illustrious JAMES WOLFE was no more.

In the same fight, and almost at the same instant, there likewise fell the eminent leader of the enemy, Marquis de Montcalm. Mortally wounded, he was rushed to the ancient General Hospital (still standing) on the banks of the St. Charles, and later transferr'd to the residence of Dr. Arnoux, Jun. (still standing) at 59 St. Louis St. within the city. His last hours, protracted longer than Gen. Wolfe's few dying moments, were mark'd by equal evidences of nobility of mind. He express'd disgust at the poor support afforded him in his campaigns, and prais'd the valour of his adversaries. At one time he wrote a letter to our commander, urging clemency toward the French prisoners of war. When told that he had but a short time to live, he rejoic'd that he wou'd not behold the surrender of Quebec. He outlin'd a plan for a concentration of troops and a fresh attack upon us, and urg'd the commander of the city garrison to remember the honour of France. At the very end he busy'd himself with the ceremonies of religion, dying peacefully at five the next morning. Thus perish'd Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de St. Véran, a commander and gentleman of the highest qualities and attainments, and not unworthy to be compar'd with his illustrious adversary. He was bury'd in the Ursuline Convent and his skull is to this day preserv'd there in a glass case. The joint death of these two leaders gave to the battle a particularly dramatick element which combines with its actual decisive importance to make it memorable. Intrinsically, it may be said to have decided the fate of this continent with respect to its linguistick and cultural control; destroying the French dream of empire and assuring the North-American world an Anglo-Saxon dominance. Editors include it in new editions of Creasy's "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World."²¹ It did not end the war, but it decided how the war wou'd end; for no one longer believ'd in the ability of the French to hold out. News of the victory, though temper'd by the sad tidings of Wolfe's death, was receiv'd with the wildest acclaim throughout America and England. In America the bell-rings, illuminations, bonfires, sermons, political addresses, and so on, suggested the uproar of 1745 at the first taking of Louisburg. Sept. 13, 1759 was indeed an unforgotten day. Four days later, before siege batteries were constructed, the city of Quebec formally surrender'd—M. de Ramezay, the commandant, having been advis'd to do so in a letter from Governor Vaudreuil, who was at Montreal. In the final council of decision, only one French officer advocated a longer resistance.

Of His Maj^{ty's} surviving commanders at Quebec, Gen^l Monckton had been severely wounded in the lungs, leaving only Murray and Townshend with a capacity for active service. Gen^l Murray assum'd charge of the army, and settled down at Quebec as a military governor. Relations betwixt the soldiery and the French population prov'd surprisingly peaceful and even friendly; many French women knitting leggins to cover the bare knees of Fraser's Highlanders, who were quarter'd in the old Ursuline Convent, and who suffer'd prodigiously from the bitter Quebec winter. His Maj^{ty's} officers, employing as aids and agents the French-Canadian captains of militia, ably, justly, and generously administer'd the laws of the region; scrupulously respecting French manners and customs, and in truth giving the townspeople a far better government than they

had ever known before. In the Ursuline Convent is still shewn a table on which our officers sign'd their first death-warrant as civil administrators—that of one Mme. Dodier, a murderess who had poison'd her husband. The Jesuits' College on the Upper Town Market Place was seiz'd and us'd as a barracks. Most of the officers dwelt at the citadel, high on the Cape Diamond promontory. Others inhabited the house of Dr. Arnoux, in Rue St. Louis, where Montcalm had dy'd; this being just downhill from the citadel on the inland side, and very convenient to it. It is still employ'd, together with its next-door neighbour, in connexion with the local military establishment. This next house is dubiously famous as the home of Mme. de Péan, mistress of the Intendant Bigot, whose plundering corruption help'd to bring about the downfall of New-France. Bigot organis'd a storehouse or trading company in connexion with certain henchmen, including Cadet, who held the contract to supply all the French posts in Canada with goods. Seizing grain without payment from the people, he sold it back to them at piratical prices; and likewise charg'd the government ten times too much for the supplies furnish'd by Cadet. Whether Marquis de Vaudreuil was in league with him, is not yet known; but Montcalm was utterly disgusted by the state of things, writing home—"What a country, where rogues grow rich and honest men are ruined!" The people commonly call'd Bigot's corporation, whose offices and storehouses were in Rue St. Paul, Lower Town, "La Friponne", or "The Cheat". Bigot had been conducting his operations for a long time, and had greatly antagonised the local merchants. One of the most celebrated legends of Old Quebec concerns one Nicolas Jacques dit Philibert, whose mercantile house stood near the Place d'Armes, on the site of the present post-office. The building (as shewn by a lead marker attach'd to the corner stone) was put up by M. Philibert in 1735, and soon became a seat of much prosperity. Bigot's oppressive activities, however, in time caus'd the good merchant much harassment; hence, being deny'd legal or overt redress, M. Philibert put up a sign in which his feelings found veil'd expression. This was a quaintly carv'd and gilded dog gnawing a bone, accompany'd by the following rhym'd inscription:

"Je suis un chien qui ronge l'os,
En le rongeant je prends mon repos,
Un temps viendras qui n'est pas venu,
Que je mordray qui m'aura mordu."

[I am a dog who gnaws a bone
I crouch and gnaw it all alone;
A time must come, which is not yet,
When I'll bite him who me has bit!]

The idea of such a sign was not new, another example having been found in the south of France. M. Philibert at times try'd to circumvent the frauds of Bigot, but that official retaliated by quartering troops upon him at the Chien d'Or, as the establishment became known from its sign. At length matters burst into open warfare, and after a violent quarrel or duel M. Philibert was kill'd by one of Bigot's henchmen or companions, M. de la Repentigny. Repentigny fled to Acadia, but return'd after a pardon from the French King. When Quebec fell to His Maj^{ty's} troops in 1759, the Bigot clique was forc'd to take flight, and M. de la Repentigny went to Pondicherry, in India. Here, according to legend, he met the son of his old victim, and was kill'd by him in a duel. The Chien d'Or has been made the subject of a well-known historical romance by Kirby.²² After our seizure of Quebec, the building was us'd as an inn by one Miles Prentice, a sergeant in Wolfe's 78th regiment, under the name of the Masonick Hall. The sign of the Golden Dog is still preserv'd in the facade of the Post Office now occupying the site. Bigot, who of course dwelt in the Intendant's palace at the foot of Palace Hill, had a sumptuous and imposing country-seat in the foothills of the Laurentians near the vil-

lage of Charlesbourg—a village which, during our siege of Quebec, form'd a refuge for many of the women and children of the city. This country-seat, call'd *Beaumanoir* or The Hermitage, was a place of feudal magnitude and solidity, and had many intricate secret passages. Here were held orgies and revels of the most extravagant description, usually in connexion with the hunting-parties of which Bigot was exceedingly fond. Many dark tales are told of what occur'd there, and today the vine-grown ruins of the chateau are view'd with melancholy and aversion.

Quebeck itself, as compar'd with its aspect when Phips saw it from afar in 1690, had grown considerably; tho' its population was less than 9000. There were more silver spires and red roofs, and to the small steep-roof'd houses had been added many of a maturer sort. There were also some fine artillery barracks* built in 1750 on the west side of the Rue du Palais at Palace Gate and towering just above the high city wall opposite the Intendant's palace. French architectural modes, of course, were universal; and the newer houses presented many features—such as curv'd eaves and certain outlines of gable-ends—like those of the early houses of Charleston, in South-Carolina, which had been built under Huguenot influence. A little later—perhaps in the early nineteenth century—we shall see the development of certain features probably more purely Canadian—among these being a kind of gambrel roof with steep, curv'd lower pitch, (tho' unlike the Dutch) flattened dormers, and heavily projecting cornices. Windows, upon abandoning the mediaeval diamond pane, do not seem to have assum'd very often the English form with many square panes. Instead, they follow'd a French model in which the casements have a heavy vertical dividing bar cross'd by two lighter horizontal muntins. Over these windows were frequently blinds or shutters horizontally divided like a Dutch door as well as vertically divided; only the lower parts being thrown open. Statues in niches in front of buildings, usually the signs of shops or taverns, were not uncommon. One of Neptune—the sign of the Neptune Inn at the foot of Mountain Hill—is still in existence. Another of Jupiter—on a tavern in Rue St. Jean in the upper town when that thoroughfare was a fashionable promenade—is now vanish'd. In old times this tavern was far from the built-up section, and form'd the traditional boundary for the unsupervis'd strolls of children—who were told by their mothers 'not to go beyond the Great Jupiter'. In later years (1774) a wooden statue of Gen^l Wolfe was sett up in front of the tavern at St. Jean and Palace Sts., where a duplicate of it (the original having been carry'd off by sportive man-of-war's-men and plac'd in the Que. Lit. and Hist. Soc. library upon its restoration to the city) is still to be found. Several fine mansions existed in the upper town, such as the de Léry manor house (now destroy'd) built in 1726 on an easterly part of the cliff, near the Seminary, known as St. Famille hill. The most fashionable places of residence—all in the upper town, of course—were Rue St. Louis, which stretch'd westward to its gate from the old Château and Fort, and the ramparts, at the edge of the cliff on St. Famille hill. Montcalm's residence, whilst in Quebec, was in a house on the Ramparts near the corner of Rue Hamel opposite Hope Gate. The fort, Château St. Louis, Churches, Hospitals, Schools, and Convents—most then already venerable—still dominated the scene; and of course priests, monks, and nuns form'd a vast and influential share of the population, as indeed they do today. Wealth and fashion were not absent, and well-curl'd periwigs under three-corner'd hats throug'd the narrow streets, which likewise glow'd with the scarlet uniforms of His Maj^{ty}'s soldiers. The principal mode of conveyance was the *calèche*, of which many still remain for the delight of tourists—a one-horse, two-

wheel'd vehicle well adapted to the steep and tortuous topography of the town. The social life was brilliant, mellow, and cultivated; aesthetick and traditional rather than intellectual, because of the mediaeval dominance of the clergy. In short, Quebec was in 1759 a very quaint, stately and beautiful provincial French garrison town; with the added colour imparted by occasional Indians, trappers, traders, coureurs de bois, sailors, soldiers of assorted kinds, and prisoners from the English and Dutch areas of North-America. The cannonade of the siege had naturally caus'd vast damage to houses and publick buildings alike—virtually destroying the lower town on the sides expos'd to the river. In that area, the only building of importance sav'd was the old church of Notre Dame des Victoires—whose injuries were capable of repair, and which stands to this day as a monument to antient days. In the upper town, the Jesuit Church and Seminary were almost wholly wreck'd, whilst the great Basilica was burnt so badly as to require extensive rebuilding—tho' the walls, pillars, arches, and belfry remain'd firm. As we have seen, two of the vast ecclesiastical institutions were us'd for military purposes—the Jesuit College for barracks and the Ursuline Convent for Fraser's Highlanders—whilst many soldiers of both sides were bury'd in the graveyard of the old General Hospital by the St. Charles. The artillery barracks at Palace Gate were us'd for their original purpose, whilst at King's Wharf, in the lee of Cape Diamond, His Maj^{ty}'s Custom-House was establish'd near where King Louis XVth had open'd a naval shipyard in 1746. The uneven and still uninhabited Cove Fields, on the plateau just west of the Citadel, remain'd much as before; their highest point, Buttes à Neveu, (now Perreault's Hill) serving as in French times as a place of publick execution. The Citadel and city walls were put in good repair and subjected to occasional improvements and reconstructions which have since given them an altogether new cast. It is pleasing to observe how well our troops and government got on with the French; a warmer cordiality springing up at once, and increasing as the mildness and fairness of Genl. Murray became more and more manifest. Some 450 Englishmen of low grade flock'd into Quebec in the wake of the army, and made some highly arrogant demands; but Genl. Murray whenever possible favour'd the native inhabitants. His opinion of the Canadian French was very high, and he wrote of them as "perhaps the bravest of the best race upon the Globe, a race, who cou'd they be indulged with a few privileges which the Laws of England deny to Roman Catholicks at home, wou'd soon get the better of every National Antipathy to their Conquerors and become the most faithful and useful set of men in this American Empire." Another reason for cordiality was the wretchedness of the French administration which our conquest displac'd. Even the most ancestrally patriotick Canadians cou'd not help seeing and blessing the vast improvement in social and political conditions brought about by the rule of His Britannick Majesty. In the ensuing years friction and rivalry of a sort have sometimes occur'd, yet at no time is it likely that any thoughtful Frenchman in Canada wou'd have willingly consider'd a return to the colonial Empire of France. The eminent Parkman has truly written: "A happier calamity never befel a people than the conquest of Canada by British arms."²³ *God Save the King!!*

However, as we have said, the fall of Quebec did not wholly end the Old French War. Our southern colonies were at this time greatly harass'd by a war with the Cherokees, independent of the main conflict; but in the north the campaigns of former years were brought to a conclusion. In the Quebec region, Chevalier de Lévis, Montcalm's successor, open'd the season of 1760 by leading an army from Montreal to retake the antient capital. On April 28 Murray march'd out of the city toward him, meeting the French troops west of the city at Sillery Wood, where the village of Ste.

*Now us'd as Dominion Arsenal, and presenting a highly impressive aspect from outside the walls.

Foy was springing up. The result of this battle was a defeat for our troops, and Murray was forc'd to retire within the walls. Lévis now lay'd siege to Quebec, but our garrison prepar'd for a dogged resistance. Meanwhile at home Wm. Pitt was prompt in sending naval aid; so that on May 15 a British squadron reach'd the beleaguér'd town and destroy'd all the French ships lying off it. On the 17th the enemy rais'd the siege, marching away and abandoning 40 cannon. God Save the King! The French, proud of the courage of Lévis, have since apply'd his name to the region across the river from Quebec, which formerly bore the very similar designation of Point-Levi. They have likewise rais'd a monument to Lévis and his men (tho' of course including Murray's forces also) on the site of Genl. Murray's repulse—about a mile from Quebec on the Ste. Foy road, near the intersection of the present Belvedere Rd. or Ave. des Braves. That they have been permitted to do so, is a good evidence of the enlighten'd liberality of His Majesty's rule.

Meanwhile Genl Amherst, now commander-in-chief, was rous'd at last to the need of taking *Montreal*, last remaining stronghold of the enemy, and now the seat of the French Governor-general Vaudreuil. Sending Genl. Haviland by way of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he himself went with 10,000 men to Oswego, thence sailing down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. Murray, order'd from Quebec, met Amherst Sept. 6 directly before Montreal, and the next day Haviland arriv'd from Crown Point. Resistance being obviously useless, Vaudreuil capitulated without a siege; on Sept. 8 delivering up to His Britannick Maj^{ty's} authority the whole of Canada, including the French posts at Detroit and Michillimackinac. Five days later Genl. Rogers, with 200 American rangers, started thro' the wilderness to take over the western posts for His Majesty. In this expedition—the first occasion upon which any great number of Englishmen had sail'd on Lake Erie—the Rogers party encounter'd the arrogant imperiousness of the Ottawa chieftain *Pontiack*; who refus'd to acknowledge any authority over the region save that of the Indians, and suffer'd them to pass only as a reigning sovereign might extend hospitality to strangers. In the ensuing years this same *Pontiack* was to lead that great and historick conspiracy, a worthy successor to the designs of old King Philip in New-England, which form'd the last generall uprising of the red men against the whites upon this continent.

Thus was extinguish'd the power of France upon the continent of America. In 1763 the Treaty of Paris defin'd the permanent allocation of territories; an allocation complicated by the fact that we had also been at war with Spain and had taken Havana in 1762. In the final generall peace France ceded to us all of her Louisiana territory east of the Mississippi, having secretly ceded the area west of the Mississippi to Spain. Spain, in exchange for the return of Havana, turn'd over Florida to His Maj^{ty's} Government. Thus the continent was left wholly in English and Spanish hands, tho' France retain'd her rich West-India possessions, plus two tiny islands—St. Pierre and Miquelon—off Newfoundland as a base for her Grand Banks fisheries. These isles today represent all that is left of France's North-American realm.

(E) Canada Under His Brittanick Majesty's Government

Upon the establishment of peace in 1763, His Maj^{ty} George the Third, who had in 1760 succeeded to the throne, proclaim'd a provisional civil government for Canada, to remain in effect till the enactment of more permanent legislative measures. As first civil governor, there was kept in office that valiant, able and upright Scotsman, Genl. James Murray, who had so well serv'd as Military Governor since 1759. Murray was, as we have seen, a vast admirer of the French-Canadians; and not at all dispos'd to cater

to the somewhat low-grade English population which had filter'd into the region in the wake of the army. These latter he call'd "four hundred and fifty contemptible sutlers and traders". In 1766, through the influence of this trading class (which had powerful connexions in London) Gen. Murray was recall'd, and Col. Guy Carleton, another of Wolfe's officers in the old days, appointed in his stead. Carleton, later knighted and rais'd to the peerage as L^d Dorchester, was probably the greatest figure in the early history of British Canada. To the French he was as favourable as Murray, and his honesty was such that he refus'd to accept any of the fees and perquisites attach'd to his office. It was at that time thought by some that the region wou'd soon become Anglicis'd; but Carleton, looking deeply into the problem, recognis'd the tenacity of the Gallick culture, and wrote what has turn'd out to be true so far as the area now forming the province of Quebec is concern'd; namely—"This country must, to the end of time, be peopled by the Canadian race, who have already taken such firm root . . . that any new stock transplanted will be totally hid, and imperceptible amongst them, except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal." Carleton's policy was to hasten the extension of all possible privileges to this conquer'd stock which he deem'd the normal population. In 1766, upon his accession to the governorship, he permitted them to sit on juries, and made the French language legal in the courts. In 1767 he confirm'd the old land laws of New-France. In 1774 there was pass'd by His Maj^{ty's} parliament the Quebec-Act, superseding the proclamation of 1763, erecting New-France into the "Province of Quebec", and providing a permanent government which lasted till 1791.* This act was wholly in favour of the French; and provided for the retention of the old French civil law though the milder criminal code of England was establish'd with full local consent and approval. The region was to be administer'd by a Royal Governor and appointed Council; there being no representative assembly because Catholics could not by English law sit on a legislative body. Had a legislature been establish'd, only the handful of "Old Subjects" (as the English Canadians were call'd) cou'd have sat upon it; a condition manifestly unfair to the French or "New Subjects". As much as possible was conceded to the Popish church, which had so obvious a hold over the New Subjects. The Romish Bishop of Quebec was informally recognis'd, and even the payment of church tithes by papists was enforc'd by law—the law of Protestant England! The result of the Quebec Act was to ensure the French culture a perpetual survival in the St. Lawrence Valley; and likewise to conciliate the French so greatly that they have ever since stood faithfully by the British Empire despite the greatest temptations to desert. Indeed, the immediate result of the act was to antagonise the Old Subjects; who had expected to enjoy British institutions in Canada, yet found themselves under conditions surviving from the ancient French regime. The general life both of the countryside and of the towns remain'd essentially French—Quebec perhaps more thoroughly than Montreal. All the houses erected were of the French sort, so that even today there are very few structures of really English architecture in the whole region.

There now broke out—in 1775—that unhappy warfare betwixt His Maj^{ty's} thirteen more southerly colonies and the home government; which culminated in the loss of those colonies to the Empire, and which may in times to come bring about their tragicall ingulphment in a new and alien barbarism of mongrel and autochthonous origin, in which all the standards of civilisation will be lost in a brainless worship of size, speed, wealth, success, and luxury, sad chapter to record! The rebels of 1775 were not insensi-

*In the western part of the new Province, which included the long disputed Ohio Valley, there was a serious conflict of title with his Maj^{ty's} Dominion of Virginia.

ble of the advantage they wou'd gain by stirring up a like sedition in Canada; and rely'd upon the racial differences of the French, plus the discontent of the new British population at the preservation of French laws, to turn both elements against their rightful government. They hop'd to joyn Canada in their confederation, thereby weakening the strength of His Maj^{ty's} forces on this continent, and removing the peril of a northerly attack upon themselves. Much correspondence was exchang'd betwixt men of the rebel faction and certain sympathisers in Canada, and it was generally thought that a successful rebel expedition into the country wou'd bring most of the population to the rebel standards. Severall plans having been propos'd and rejected, it was finally decided by the rebels to send two expeditions into Canada to meet before Quebec; one along Lake Champlain, where both Ticonderoga and Crown Point had fallen into their hands, and the other through the district of Maine, up the Kennebec River and across the wilderness to the neighbouring head-waters of the Chaudière, which flows north into the St. Lawrence near Quebec. For the first expedition, the celebrated Gen^l Schuyler was chosen leader; but owing to his illness the command devolv'd upon Genl. Rich^d Montgomery, an Irish gentleman who had come with His Maj^{ty's} army for service in the Old French War, but who, disappointed of promotion, had resign'd, settled down in the Province of New-York at Rhinebeck, on the Hudson, and marry'd a daughter of the celebrated house of Livingston. Genl. Montgomery, now 39 years of age, was a person of the highest character, apart from his rebel sentiments, and of extreamly great ability. To command the Kennebeck-Chaudière expedition there was selected that bold, fiery, and unstable Connecticut apothecary and West-India horse-dealer, Col. Benedict Arnold, whose later treachery toward the rebel cause hath gain'd him the disesteem of both sides. Col. Arnold, a man of some pompousness, yet of vast ability and inflexible determination, was then 35 years of age. At Quebec, Gov^r Carleton was given the generall command over all His Maj^{ty's} forces in America; taking the field, and leaving the civill administration in the hands of the Lieutenant-Gov^r Cramabé. One of his aides-de-camp was the eldest son of the great William Pitt, L^d Chatham; but he soon resign'd from a reluctance to fight against those colonies whose earlier and reasonable demands his father had favour'd. The most southerly post of our loyal forces along the Champlain route contemplated by Schuyler and Montgomery was St. John's, on the Richelieu River betwixt the lake and the St. Lawrence. This Gen^l Carleton wish'd to defend, and for that purpose assembled near 900 men at Montreal. The attempt, however, was futile; and on Nov^r 3d the rebels took the fort. Nine days later Montgomery occupy'd Montreal without opposition, and Gov^r Carleton was oblig'd to resort to a peasant's disguise in order to get down the river and reënter Quebec. The expedition of Arnold, starting from the rebel hdqrs. at Cambridge and comprising 10 companies of New-England infantry, 2 Pennsylvania companies, and a company of Virginia riflemen under the celebrated Dan^l Morgan, included such figures as Lt. Colo: Christopher Greene of Rhode-Island, and the young Aaron Burr, later destin'd to such vivid and vary'd fortunes. It sail'd from Newburyport, in Massachusetts-Bay, on the 19th of September, and the next day enter'd the Kennebeck River in Maine. Securing small boats, the party proceeded up the river through a picturesque wilderness; on Octr. 10th carrying their bateaux amidst great hardships to the Dead River, which they follow'd for 83 miles with frequent portages. At this period letters were sent ahead by messengers to the other rebel army and to private persons in Quebec; which, falling into the hands of His Maj^{ty's} authorities thro' Indian duplicity, inform'd us what to expect in the way of invasion. Also at this stage one Lt. Col. Roger Enos led back to Massachusetts, without permission, the three companies under him; for which he was later court-martial'd but acquitted. Au-

tumn was now advancing, and snow began to beset the sub-arctick wilderness. Shoes and clothing suffer'd, and hunger became so great that the party began to eat the dogs that attended them. After a terrifick struggle over the carrying-place from the Dead River, the party finally reach'd Lake Megantick, from which the Chaudière flows. Crossing the lake and entering the river, they were much troubled by falls and rapids; but finally reach'd the French village of Sertigan. Here they were well receiv'd by the simple peasantry, amongst whom they distributed proclamations printed in French, presenting the rebel arguments in highly persuasive form. Following the river onward thro' the French countryside with its curving-eav'd, whitewashed houses, curious village steeples, and quaint popish wayside shrines, Arnold at length reach'd the great St. Lawrence and proceeded on the night of Nov^r 13th to ferry his men across to Wolfe's Cove from Point Lévis. Meanwhile His Maj^{ty's} forces in Quebec were making ready for the invader; Lt. Gov^r Cramabé putting the walls in good condition by means of 100 carpenters fetch'd from Newfoundland. On Nov. 12, the town was reinforced by 170 Scottish Highlanders—disbanded veterans who had settled in Canada and who were now collected by Colo: Allan MacLean. All the merchant seamen in port were muster'd for the town's defence, and there lay in the harbour two of His Maj^{ty's} ships-of-war, the Lizard and the Hunter. At most, the garrison finally number'd some 1800 men. Arnold succeeded in ferrying across some 500 of his 650 remaining men, the residue being perforce left behind because of discovery at dawn. The old route of Wolfe up the Heights of Abraham was follow'd without disaster; and having reach'd the plateau, the troops march'd to within 800 yards of the city walls. Here, with vast bombast and pompousness, Arnold sent a threatening demand for surrender to the Lt. Gov^r; meanwhile hoping that a large number of the inhabitants of Quebec, especially the French natives, wou'd desert to his side. Naturally this boastful message from a scanty force was receiv'd with disdain; tho' the ignorant populace felt some terror at the appearance of these warlike strangers (especially Morgan's queerly shirted Virginians) from the unknown wilderness. Arnold, now perceiving the weakness of his force and the adequate defences of the town, withdrew to Point aux Trembles, 20 miles up the river, to await aid from Montgomery, whose capture of Montreal had become known. At this point Gov^r Carleton reach'd Quebec by stealth, the fact early becoming known to Arnold. Realising that one of the leading reasons for Quebec's fall in 1759 was the fact that Montcalm had fought outside the walls, Carleton adopted an opposite course and resolv'd to let the enemy wear themselves out against closed gates till a very late and opportune moment. News of Montgomery's success at Montreal, and of his probable juncture with Arnold before Quebec, at one period induc'd a disaffected element within the walls to advocate a surrender; to which the wise and upright Carleton responded by ordering all who would not defend the town to leave it in four days. When all such persons had withdrawn, there were left in Quebec some 300 regular British troops, 330 English Canadian soldiers, 543 French-Canadians, 485 sailors and marines, and 125 able-body'd workmen capable of military service. On Novr. 26 Montgomery set out from Montreal with 300 men, provisions, and artillery—which latter Arnold had totally lack'd. Arnold had by this time muster'd a few more men, and on Dec. 3^d Montgomery reach'd him; giving the half-frozen soldiers a supply of more suitable clothing. The combined rebel forces now number'd something under a thousand men, to whom were added a body of 200 French-Canadian volunteers. Advancing on Quebec, with Genl. Montgomery in command, the rebels braved the hellish cold of a northern winter and flounder'd as best they might thro' an increasing snowfall. Quebec was reach'd on Decr. 5th, and the troops took up their quarters in the suburb of St. Roch, which lies at the northern foot of the

vast cliff, adjoining the lower town and stretching westward from Palace Gate. Arnold occupy'd a house there, whilst Montgomery dwelt on the St. Foye Rd. upon the plateau. Since the enlistments of the New-England men expir'd at the end of the year, it was necessary for the rebels to act quickly; to which end Genl. Montgomery sent Gov. Carleton various wild threats and demands for surrender—devices which not only fail'd of their object, but actually strengthen'd the morale of the defenders by making the struggle seem more equal, and the need for strong precautions correspondingly greater. There now follow'd a long period of deadlock'd waiting, during which the rebels conducted some occasional shelling from small mortars—a shelling which was wholly powerless to injure the garrison within the walls, but which did much damage to the buildings of St. Roch and the adjacent parts of the Quebec lower town. It was amidst this shelling that the great Intendant's Palace just outside Palace Gate was demolish'd; only the vaults of the original Talon brewery of 1668 remaining. In later years a new brewery—the celebrated and still existent Boswell's—was rais'd over these vaults, and they are to this day us'd for their first purpose and shewn upon request to the curious. On Decr. 15th, after the construction of a battery on the plateau facing St. John's Gate in the upper town, Montgomery again sought to send demands to Gov' Carleton, but was told that His Maj^{ty}'s representative wou'd hold no parley with rebels. It now became apparent to the besiegers, that they cou'd never take the town but by storm; and accordingly they resolv'd plans for a desperate attempt toward that end. Some disaffection amongst Col. Arnold's officers made evident the need of haste, and on Christmas Day Montgomery address the troops, held a council, and resolv'd upon a nocturnal assault against the lower town at the first good opportunity—when it might be dark and cloudy, and not too cold for action. This information being carry'd within the walls by a deserter, the garrison adopted tactics of constant vigilance; even Gov. Carleton sleeping in his clothes in order to be ready for defence at any moment. The chosen night—dark and cloudy, with snow and hail—was the last of the year 1775. According to Genl. Montgomery's plan, the garrison's attention was to be diverted by two feign'd attacks on the plateau level—one upon St. John's Gate, and the other up Cape-Diamond, where the citadel stands high over the riverward cliffs. The real attacks, to be launched at a rocket signal from the feinting party on the high Cape Diamond terrain, were to be upon the lower town; Montgomery leading a detachment down the cliff to the narrow shore of the St. Lawrence and approaching from under Cape Diamond, whilst Arnold operated from St. Roch, skirting the cliff east of Palace Gate, and marching through the lower-town streets as far as Mountain Hill. At the latter place—the principal approach to the upper town, guarded near the top by Prescott Gate—the two detachments hoped to meet; storming Prescott Gate and perhaps forcing a way through. Montgomery, leading somewhat under 300 "Yorkers" including the young Aaron Burr and the two able aides-de-camp Majors Cheeseman and Macpherson, descended by Wolfe's route to the shore; and thereafter scrambled along the narrow and perilous margin betwixt the towering cliff and the icy river—all the while harass'd by the bitter cold, northeast wind, driving hail, and icily insecure footing. The premature sending of the rocket signal occasion'd some separation and confusion, and at times barriers were encounter'd, which carpenters had to saw and tear away. At last, having reach'd the defile marking the location of Champlain St., below Cape-Diamond, the advance party with Montgomery, Burr, Cheeseman, and Macpherson encounter'd a log blockhouse set directly in the road, from which no sign of animation proceeded. In this structure were some 50 men of the defending force under a transport-captain nam'd Barusfare, and a marine officer nam'd Coffin. The cannon were mann'd by expert seamen, and the gunners were on the

alert to discharge their pieces as soon as order'd. Montgomery, when about 60 of his force had caught up with him, cry'd out—"Men of New-York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads; push on, brave boys! Quebec is ours!" Pressing instantly forward, he was answer'd by a volley of grapeshot from the defenders—which at once wrought the gravest havock amongst the rebels. Montgomery, Cheeseman, and Macpherson, with ten others, fell dead at the first fusilade; though Aaron Burr escap'd without even a wound. The residue, under Donald Campbell, at once retreated to Wolfe's Cove; there resting without any attempt to discover how Col. Arnold's attack on the other side of the town had progress'd. Meanwhile Arnold, in the St. Roch suburb with twice the number of Montgomery's troops, found his path impeded by masses of ice thrown up by the River St. Charles. Finally reaching Palace Gate, the rebels heard the bells of the city ring out in concert with a general alarm of drums, whilst a cannonade from the defenders began. Proceeding in single file, with lower'd head and guns protected from the storm by their coats, the attackers proceeded to round the cliff under the Ramparts to the eastern side; abandoning the field-piece which they had sought to take along. At the Sault au Matelot, in Rue Sault au Matelot at the foot of Dog Hill, the defenders had their first barricade or battery. Col. Arnold had just been severely wounded in the lower leg by sailors firing from behind the walls of the Hotel Dieu convent, so that he had to be convey'd back to the antient General Hospital on the banks of the St. Charles. (At that place he was much depress'd by learning of the death of Genl. Montgomery.) The rebels, however, persisted in their attack; being commanded by the celebrated Virginia rifleman Danl Morgan. After an hour of terrific battle they carry'd the Sault au Matelot defences and rush'd along the narrow Rue Sault au Matelot to the second barrier at the corner of Rue St. James, where Rue St. Pierre approaches so closely as to form a virtual junction. Here a very heroick attempt to take the defences was made by the intrepid Colo: Greene of RHODE-ISLAND; but all in vain, since His Maj^{ty}'s troops stood behind the barricade with fixt bayonets, whilst sharpshooters from the houses on both sides of the street kept up an unceasing and effective fire. The casualties on both sides were heavy; the rebel artillery leader Capt. Lamb having his jaw partly shot away, so that he had to be borne from the field, and the Pennsylvanian Hendricks, who had accompany'd Arnold thro' the wilderness, being shot dead in the act of aiming his rifle. Scaling ladders were apply'd to the barricade, but it soon became manifest that retreat was all that remain'd for the rebels. Some took shelter in stone houses whose defensive possibilities seem'd good, whilst others escap'd over the ice on the St. Charles River. The majority, however, were fated for capture; since Gov' Carleton, reliev'd of the need of reckoning with Montgomery, was now giving full attention to the Arnold party. Suddenly sending a force of 200 from Palace Gate, he overwhelm'd the rebel force under Capt. Dearborn that was left to guard Arnold's rear from surprises; thus completely trapping the main force of attackers within the narrow, tortuous streets of the lower town. Morgan of Virginia proposed a desperate fight for egress; but soberer counsels prevail'd, so that at 10 o'clock on the 1st of January, 1776, a rebel force of some 450 surrender'd to the arm'd might of His Britannick Majesty. Thus ended the last attempt ever made to take the great citadel of the North by storm. God Save the King! In the night's battle the rebels had lost 160, kill'd and wounded, whilst the losses of the defenders did not exceed 20. Gov' Carleton exercised toward the prisoners a magnanimity and consideration distinguish'd in the annals of warfare; sending an officer on parade to the rebel camp to get clothing and supplies needed by them, and quartering them in the antient Quebec Seminary. The shoar beneath Cape-Diamond was search'd for the rebel dead, 13 bodies being found, including those of Montgomery, Cheeseman, and

Macpherson. Montgomery's body was taken to the house of a cooper nam'd Gaubert in Rue St. Louis near the corner of St. Ursule, (lately demolish'd) and 3 days later was bury'd with honour, together with the bodies of Cheeseman and Macpherson, in the yard of the old Military Prison—now a military storehouse—of Citadel Hill next the corner of Rue St. Louis. The site is today markt by a small boulder. Lt. Gov^r Cramabé, for the sake of security, permitted the burial to be made within a wall enclosing a powder-magazine. Shortly afterward word was relay'd to Gov^r Carleton by the rebel Arnold that Montgomery's widow wish'd the watch the slain leader had worn; and tho' Arnold offer'd almost any sum for the relique, Carleton promptly sent it with a refusal to receive anything in return. Forty-two years later, in June, 1818, His Maj^{ty's} Government yielded up the body to Montgomery's still-surviving widow; so that it was transferr'd to New-York and interr'd with military honours from the rebel Federal government in the churchyard of antient St. Paul's, in Broadway at the corner of Vesey-Street, where it rests to this day. Generations later the bodies of Cheeseman and Macpherson were exhum'd during excavations in the yard of the old military storehouse, and preserv'd for exhibition in a glass coffin by one Patrick Lewis, one of the workmen at the storehouse. Mr. Lewis later—in 1894—identify'd the burial-place of the other rebels slain with Montgomery; these being reinterr'd near the same spot, and their grave mark'd by a suitable tablet. The scenes of both battles are markt by tablets, one being on the cliff over Près-de-Ville (as the site of Montgomery's fall, near the antient Neuville, is now call'd) and the other in the lower town at the corner of Rues St. Pierre and St. James. These tablets read, respectively,

HERE STOOD	HERE STOOD
THE UNDAUNTED FIFTY	HER OLD AND NEW DEFENDERS
SAFEGUARDING	UNITING GUARDING SAVING
CANADA	CANADA
DEFEATING MONTGOMERY	DEFEATING ARNOLD
AT THE PRES-DE-VILLE BARRICADE	AT THE SAULT-AU-MATELOT BARRICADE
ON THE LAST DAY OF	ON THE LAST DAY OF
1775	1775
GUY CARLETON	GUY CARLETON
COMMANDING AT	COMMANDING AT
QUEBEC	QUEBEC

In the first tablet the word "undaunted" refers to the threats of dire vengeance in case of non-surrender flung into the city by Arnold and Montgomery before the battle. In the second, the term "old and new defenders" refers to the fact that the old French stood side by side with the Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Welshmen, Channel Islanders, and Newfoundlanders in the defence of the town. God Save the King! In ensuing years the narrow shore under the cliff at Près-de-Ville and beyond toward Wolfe's Cove became considerably develop'd as a waterfront; wharves and houses being erected, and the thoroughfare being consider'd an extension of Rue Champlain. It was tenanted by an Irish population, and became the seat of the Quebec Hibernian Club. Far out toward Wolfe's Cove a French marine village sprang up at Cap Blanc, and here was erected the maritime chapel (still us'd) of Notre-Dame de la Garde. In later years the region fell to the condition of a slum; and in 1889, at a spot betwixt the old King's Wharf (end of the antient Lower Town) and the site of Montgomery's death, a terrifick landslide on the cliff occur'd; wrecking all the houses beneath it and killing many of the slum denizens. No houses have since been built at this point, and

the face of the cliff is here smoothly wall'd up with cemented stones. The effect of this is to make of the remaining Champlain St. slum a detach'd and somewhat sinister suburb. On walking around the cliff from the original lower town, one comes to a seemingly deserted region with only ruin'd wharves and foundation-walls; and fancies that the urban district here ends. Only perseverance will induce one to proceed farther and witness the resumption of the interrupted lines of slum houses. They are today in a fearsome state of decrepitude; many being wholly abandon'd, and vast gaps existing where edifices have collaps'd or suffer'd demolition. Near the old Hibernian Club an interminable flight of wooden steps leads one up to the ancient Cove Fields behind the Citadel, and across these fields a boardwalk leads to the inhabited region around the St. Louis road on the plateau.

The delicacy and consideration of His Majesty's officers after the capture of the rebels is illustrated by many anecdotes. One officer (he who years afterward identify'd Montgomery's body upon its exhumation) wore the sword of Montgomery in his belt, but remov'd it upon perceiving what melancholy it produc'd amongst the rebel prisoners. Montgomery himself was prais'd in parliament by many speakers, including Mr. Burke and the veteran Barré, who had serv'd with him in the Old French War. L^d North, however, went so far as to say, "Curse on his virtues—they've undone his country!"

After this crushing defeat, Arnold (recovering somewhat from his wound) assum'd command of the 800 rebels left near Quebec; having been made a Brigadier-General by the rebel Congress for his gallantry in the futile attack. He now receiv'd reinforcements from New-England, who reach'd Quebec on snowshoes, carrying their own provisions. Entrenching himself three miles from the city, he enforc'd as tight a blockade as he cou'd; tho' it was vain to hope that he might keep the St. Lawrence clos'd against ships from England in the spring. On the 1st of April old Gen^l Wooster of New Haven, Conn. came down from Montreal and superseded Arnold in the command; the force now standing at about 2500, tho' greatly ravag'd by smallpox. Wooster, conscientious but by no means capable, erected batteries on the Plains of Abraham and on the Lévis cliffs across the river, but the cannonading had no effect on the town. Arnold, falling from his horse, re-injur'd his wounded leg and was forc'd to retire to Montreal. Wooster, at his own request, was now superseded by Gen^l Thomas of Massachusetts; who, however, dy'd of small-pox a month later. Spring was not far advanc'd, and reinforcements were constantly reaching Quebec from Nova-Scotia and England. Thomas had order'd a retreat on May 5th, and the retreating rebels were attack'd by two sallying parties from St. John's and St. Louis Gates, so that they fled in confusion to Deschambault, 48 miles above Quebec. Those wounded were car'd for by Canadian peasants, and later welcom'd to Quebec's antient general hospital, where the supremely magnanimous Carleton provided for their treatment and free release to return home upon their recovery. Pursu'd from Quebec, the disorganis'd rebel army now retreated to Sorel, where the Richelieu River (from Lake Champlain) empties into the St. Lawrence. There Thomas died—and meanwhile the main body of British reinforcements under Gen. Burgoyne, including the Brunswick mercenaries under Baron Riedesel, had reach'd Quebec. God Save the King! A further rebel retreat from Sorel was now check'd by the newly-arriv'd commander Gen^l Sullivan, who turn'd it into an advance toward Quebec as far as Three Rivers. Here, however, some fresh troops from Europe (whose transports had by Carleton's orders proceeded on past Quebec without a pause) defeated the rebels under Genl. Anthony Wayne and forc'd them to retreat again to Sorel. Meanwhile Genl. Arnold, commanding at Montreal, found the whole rebel hold on Canada steadily weakening. The French natives did not take

kindly to the Yankees and the civil institutions they set up, whilst the omnipotent popish clergy and the old nobility were unreservedly on the side of His Majesty's lawful cause. In May mixt troops of English, Iroquois, and Canadians defeated the rebels at a post on the St. Lawrence's north bank; and at last, after the final rebel retreat to Sorel, it became manifest that the enemy must soon quit Canada. Arnold tarry'd at Montreal as long as he cou'd, but finally—when the Sorel troops began a retreat along the Richelieu toward Lake Champlain—he joyn'd them and assisted Genl. Sullivan in managing matters. It being impossible to persuade the troops to make a stand at St. John's, on the Richelieu, the commanders proceeded to the Isle aux Noix in Lake Champlain; Arnold subsequently going to Albany for a council of generals, and Sullivan retreating still farther south to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, successively. Carleton, at Quebec, now order'd a fleet to be built at St. John's for the purpose of combating the rebels on Lake Champlain; this being met by a rebel fleet under Genl. Arnold, who had commanded ships when in the West-India trade. In the ensuing engagement, which took place Octr. 11th, honours rested with His Maj^{ty's} vessels; but there was no serious attempt to dislodge the rebels from Ticonderoga. The mild winter of 1776–77 was fill'd with plans for moving southward against the rebels; it being decided (tho' not without protests from those sensible of the asperities of salvage barbarism) to employ the Iroquois as allies. These tribes were greatly sway'd by the civilis'd Mohawk chieftain Joseph Brant, whose sister had wed the celebrated Sir W: Johnson. Sir William had dy'd (possibly by his own hand) in 1774, but his sons were powerful, and his heir Sir John Johnson had succeeded to the paternal post of Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the North. Gov^r Carleton wish'd to lead an army of ten thousand into the southern colonies, and was in this wish upheld by Gen^l Burgoyne; but the home government, upon the recommendation of Sir W^m and Adm^l Howe, defeated the project. In May 1777 Burgoyne, after an absence, return'd to Quebec; and at this time Carleton was depriv'd of the conduct of any future campaign beyond the borders of Canada. Burgoyne, taking charge of the propos'd expedition, had as assistants the capable Genl. Phillips, the noted Highlander Gen^l Fraser, and the German Baron Riedesel. The design, develop'd carefully in London by L^d George Germain and his advisers, (including L^d Amherst) was to follow the old Lake Champlain route and effect a junction with Sir W: Howe, who held New-York; and besides the main advance there was to be a smaller western force under Lt. Col. St. Leger, landing at Oswego and proceeding down the Mohawk Valley toward the Hudson for an eventual union with Burgoyne near Albany. Genl. Burgoyne advanc'd from St. John's, on the Richelieu, on June 15th; and the next day camp'd just north of Crown Point, where he address'd a council of his Indian allies—comprising 400 Iroquois, Algonquins, and Ottawas. Early in July His Maj^{ty's} forces approach'd Ticonderoga, the nearest rebel post, and made preparations for a siege. Unable to get reinforcements, the rebel commander St. Clair evacuated the fortress and retir'd to Ft. Edward, where Gen^l Schuyler had command. Later Ft. Edward was likewise abandon'd by the rebels, who retreated south four miles to Moss Creek, and there put up defences. Burgoyne took up his position at Ft. Ann, some distance below Lake Champlain. At this point he wish'd Gov^r Carleton to send more troops from Canada to hold Ticonderoga, but the latter consider'd that his loss of authority outside the Province of Quebec prevented him from so doing. The position of Burgoyne was attended with much difficulty; and great local indignation was excited by the barbarity of his Indian allies, who were led by the sanguinary and vindictive Frenchman (arrested by the rebels when they held Montreal) La Carne St. Luc. The chief incident occasioning this resentment was the savage murder and scalping of Miss

Jane McCrea, a young local gentlewoman betroth'd to an officer in His Maj^{ty's} forces, on July 27th; this atrocious happening being ever afterward a leading tale in the folklore of the region. The present writer has a snuff-box made in 1853 from the wood of the great tree (which dy'd in 1849) under which Miss McCrea was slain. She herself lyes bury'd in a suitably mark'd grave near Ft. Edward. Only fear of defection amongst the Indians induc'd Gen^l Burgoyne to pardon the assassin. On July 28th Burgoyne occupy'd Ft. Edward, whilst the rebels retir'd to Stillwater. Meanwhile St. Leger had started from Oswego, and on Aug. 3^d reach'd the carrying-place where the lake-emptying waters approach the Hudson-emptying waters of the Mohawk. Here was situate Ft. Schuyler, formerly Ft. Stanwix, held by a rebel garrison of 700, to whose aid a reinforcing army under Gen^l Herkimer was marching. St. Leger lay'd siege to the fort and defeated Herkimer's party 8 miles away, at Oriskany; but was frighten'd into a retreat later in the month, before the fort fell, by a small rebel party under the resourceful Benedict Arnold, who sent ahead a pretended deserter to delude the besiegers into thinking that he had 2000 men. In the main theatre of action Burgoyne, to increase his supplies, sent out a side expedition of 1000 to capture reported stores at Bennington, in the newly organis'd region of Vermont; but on August 16 this force was badly defeated by the rebels under Col. John Stark at the battle of Bennington. Amongst the rebels Schuyler was now superseded by Genl. Horatio Gates; and on Sept^r 19th the two armies met in a major engagement at Bemis Heights, west of the Hudson; Genl. Arnold and the Virginian Dan^l Morgan being the leading figures on the enemy's side. This conflict was indecisive; our forces losing about 500 whilst the rebels lost 300. On Oct^r 7th there was fought in the same region the Battle of Saratoga, near Stillwater, south of Bemis Heights. This, too, had no instant result; but Genl. Fraser was slain, and so unfavourable to our forces did conditions appear, that Genl. Burgoyne began a retreat. Pursuit was instituted by the rebels, and it soon became manifest that no way out of the region was left—and likewise that no communication could be had with His Maj^{ty's} forces in the town of New-York. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, at Saratoga, near an old fort of Baron Dieskau's, Genl. Burgoyne surrender'd to the rebels under honourable circumstances; yielding up 6000 men, who were march'd across country to Cambridge under an agreement to be return'd to England after pledges to serve no more against the American rebels. This agreement was dishonourably broken by the rebel congress, so that the prisoners were finally sent to Virginia. The defeat cost us a third of our total forces in America, and was probably the turning-point of the war. Creasy includes it in his *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*. The conquest of this northern region clos'd the direct share of Quebec in the current hostilities. In 1778 Carleton (who in 1781 replac'd Clinton as head of the army in America, taking up headquarters in New-York) was superseded as Governor of Quebec by Gen^l Sir Frederick Haldimand, who built a fine Georgian mansion (still in existence, with additions, as a publick hostelry) at the falls of the Montmorency River, and in 1784 built a mansion over the old military defences beside the Château St. Louis, which he call'd Château Haldimand. This was demolish'd in 1892 to make way for the massive Château Frontenac hotel. The military status of the old fortress-capital was unchang'd, and it knew the presence of many a celebrated figure of army and navy. Here, at the Masonick Hall Inn conducted by Miles Prentice in the old building that had housed M. Philibert's Chien d'Or, young Capt. Nelson (afterward Admiral L^d Nelson of immortal fame) paid court to Prentice's niece in 1782, and was prevented from wedding her only by being forcibly carry'd aboard his vessel. Here also—at the same famous inn—the young naval Duke of Clarence, later King William the Fourth, was chastis'd by a gentleman of Quebec, to

whose daughter he had pay'd unwelcome attentions. It was Mrs. Prentice, the inn-keeper's wife, incidentally, who identify'd the corpse of the rebel general Montgomery after the battle of Decr. 31, 1775. In 1784 Haldimand, having dy'd, was succeeded as Governor of Quebec by Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy—who was also Governor of Nova-Scotia, and of the new province of New-Brunswick, created in 1784 from the Acadian mainland contiguous to Maine, in New-England.

Up to this period the British population of Canada had been relatively slight; consisting mainly of petty traders in the large towns of Quebec and Montreal, plus the military and civil persons connected with the garrisons. No part of the country was thickly settled save the original French region of the St. Lawrence Valley betwixt Montreal and the sea, and only in the towns was there anything like English-speaking life. Notwithstanding this, English newspapers had been founded in both Quebec and Montreal—these being the first newspapers of any sort in Canada. The old Quebec Gazette had its office in the lower town at the foot of Mountain Hill, on the side toward the cliff. Only much later, oddly enough, was any French paper founded in this antient French region—and even today an English daily Chronicle-Telegraph, which claims lineal descent from the old Gazette—is the leading publication of overwhelmingly French Quebec.

In 1783 a vast and sudden change came as a result of the unfavourable termination of the American War. The thirteen southerly colonies being lost, about a third of their population—the element faithful to their rightful King—were driven into exile because of their refusal to swear fealty to the rebel government; and these loyal and noble subjects, men of the finest type in heritage and in devotion to a lofty standard, found a haven in the neighbouring lands still faithful to His Majesty, where they were given lands in recompense for what they had lost. The southerners went chiefly to the West Indies, where today their descendants are among the choicest of the population. The Northerners, on the other hand, moved more northward still—taking lands in Nova-Scotia, New-Brunswick, Prince-Edward Island, and those westerly parts of Canada above the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and inland beyond Montreal. About 30,000 New-England men of the most superior sort peopled the maritime provinces of the old Acadian region, whilst over 10,000 settled in upper Canada. Virile, capable, highly civilised, energetick, and used to the free and equitable institutions of Englishmen, this tremendous wave of loyal Americans swept tumultuously into the vacant parts of British North America like a transforming miracle. In a moment the anciently seated French population became reduced from a virtual Canadian totality to a mere section of a dual nation, of which the other section had the advantage of sharing the race, language, and institutions of the governing Empire. A new balance of forces and a new set of conditions had arisen—for English Canada had been born overnight. Halifax and St. John, in Acadia, became important towns, with Rhode-Island and other good old Yankee names on their records and eventually in their churchyards. In upper Canada the new town of York on the N. shore of Lake Ontario—now Toronto—grew rapidly in size and importance. Clamour arose at once for new laws and a new local government, since free Englishmen of such standing and in such numbers could not be expected to exist under the crude and archaick French system establish'd for the benefit of the French population by the Quebec-Act. At home the need was acknowledg'd as soon as a provisional county system establish'd by Gov. Tho: Carleton had fail'd. Of course, it was recognis'd that if representative government be given the English, it must be given the French too; so that the old bar against the representation of Catholics must be abandon'd. Nova-Scotia, Prince-Edward Island, and New-Brunswick, be-

ing outside the region affected by the old Quebec-Act, offer'd no problems; these being separate English provinces from the start. But Canada proper, or the so-call'd Province of Quebec, demanded fresh and radical action by His Majesty's Parliament. Accordingly in 1791 there was enacted the Quebec Government Bill, or Constitutional Act, by which the old Province of Quebec was divided into *Upper-Canada*, the British region now call'd Ontario, and *Lower-Canada*, the old French area now call'd the Province of Quebec. Upper-Canada, settled by United Empire Loyalists from the lost colonies, was to have English laws and institutions; whilst in Lower-Canada the old French institutions legalised by the 1774 Quebec-Act were to be continu'd. Over both Provinces a Governor-General was to reign by Crown appointment, and under him each province was to have a separate Lieutenant-Governor and executive council, also appointed by the Crown. The Governor-General was to reside in Lower-Canada, of which Quebec was still capital, and there were to be bicameral representative legislatures—the Upper Chambers of Legislative Councils being appointed by the Crown whilst the Lower Houses or Legislative Assemblies were to be elected by the people. Upper Canada, whose capital was in 1796 fixt at York, (Toronto) soon became in practice quite independent of the Governor-General; the Crown's Lieutenant Governor being virtually without supervision in local affairs. Thus the races of England and France in the New World were still kept separate; the only persons at a disadvantage being the English minority in Lower Canada, who had to submit to old French laws and institutions. These were mainly in Montreal, which at one period was quite Anglo-Saxon in tone, in Quebec City, and in the so-call'd Eastern Townships, southeast of Montreal and just across the line from the New-England states of Vermont and New-Hampshire. (Place-names like Granby, Sherbrooke, Lennoxville, etc. attest this Englishry.) This French-swamped English element, never large except in Montreal, is now rapidly disappearing because of emigration to other provinces, and through the greater fecundity of the French. Today there are below 5000 English in Quebec City. In practice, the government of both Canadian provinces soon became a select oligarchy of certain members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, known (after 1828) in Upper Canada as the "Family Compact", and in Lower Canada as the "Château Clique". Dissatisfaction naturally resulted from this, so that in both provinces there were constant anti-government agitations—the Scotsmen Robert Gourlay and William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and Louis Joseph Papineau in the French area. In 1806, during a dispute over Lower-Canada taxes in which the English minority of traders wished land taxation whilst the French agricultural majority wished trade taxation, the French in Quebec City founded *Le Canadien*, the first French newspaper in Canada. Some of the editors of this journal being arrested by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Craig, that official's regime is still known amongst the Canadian French as "The Reign of Terror". In 1837 there were actual rebellions against the government in both Canadas, instigated by Papineau and Mackenzie, who later fled to the United States. That in Lower Canada was naturally the more serious, tho' hostilities occur'd in only two places—St. Eustache, north of Montreal, and the valley of the Richelieu. Upon the consequent suspension of the Constitution for three years, the capable L^d Durham straighten'd matters out as Governor-General; advocating the reunion of the two Canadas in order to give the dominant English their just proportion of power, and recommending a locally responsible government in all matters not involving imperial interests. In 1841 much of this advice was taken, there being set up an united Canada under a Crown Governor-General, a Crown Executive Council, and a Legislature with a Crown upper house and elective lower house. Successive governors at this period

were Sydenham, Bigot, and Metcalfe. In 1847 L^d Durham's son-in-law L^d Elgin succeeded Metcalfe as Governor-General, and endeavour'd to inaugurate a more locally responsible form of government. He invited the English and French Liberal leaders, Baldwin and La Fontaine, to form a government; and refus'd to veto a locally-enacted bill of the French (indemnifying persons who had suffer'd loss in the 1837 rebellion) which was highly repugnant to the English; this refusal being firmly given in the face of vast unpopularity and even mob violence in Montreal (where the legislature was then sitting). It was L^d Elgin who reaffirm'd the old dictum of Govr. Guy Carleton (1766), that the local French cou'd never be stript of their antient language and manners and made into Englishmen; writing, "I for one am deeply convinced of the impolicy of all such attempts [as suggested by L^d Durham] to denationalise the French. . . . You may perhaps *Americanise*, but, depend upon it, by methods of this description, you will never *Anglicise* the French inhabitants of the province. Let them feel, on the other hand, that their religion, their habits, their prepossessions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, who will venture to say that the last hand which waves the British flag on American ground may not be that of a French-Canadian?"

The 1841 Act of Union met with some obstacles in operation, since the English in Upper Canada did not wish to be dominated by the more populous Lower Canada, of whose governing majority the French would certainly be the chief electors. Accordingly a plan was hit upon to have each province, despite this unequal population, send an equal number of representatives to the legislative assembly; and to require any given vote to command a separate majority in each of these equal local delegations (42 members each) in order to be carry'd. Dualism, French and English, crept into all appointments and administrations; and many questions like that of ecclesiastical funds and the old French seigniorial tenure caus'd acute trouble. The greatest leader of this period was the Scotsman John Alexander Macdonald, (later knighted) who united many oppos'd parties and prov'd a vast conciliator. By 1851 an ironick situation had develop'd regarding the equal-representation principle of the English and French provinces; since rapidly growing Upper Canada—now call'd Canada West and receiving vast accretions from the British Isles—especially Scotland—had become more populous than Lower Canada—or Canada East—so that the principle no longer protected an English minority but actually depriv'd an English majority of the power they might otherwise have. In the 1860's the idea of a union of all the various British Provinces in North-America began to be talk'd of; and even the French, led by their capable statesman Georges-Etienne Cartier, became reconcil'd to the prospect. All the provinces sent representatives to a Conference held at Quebec in Oct' 1864, which eventually propos'd a plan of union to be ratify'd by the several legislatures. Of these legislatures, those of Newfoundland and Prince-Edward Island refus'd to ratify the plan; whilst in Nova Scotia there was ineffective popular opposition. The others acted favourably, so that Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova-Scotia sent delegates to England to arrange for the new united colony. Imperial authorities approved the design; and on July 1, 1867, Her Maj^{ty's} Parliament pass'd the British North-America Act, whereby there came into being that puissant branch of our English Empire which today flourishes in ever-increasing splendour despite the rigours of its inclement climate—the proud and self-sufficient DOMINION OF CANADA. The Dominion has a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, an Executive Council, and two elective Houses of Parliament—a Senate and House of Commons. Each Province has a separate representative government under a Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Do-

minion government, an Executive Council, and an elective legislature in some cases unicameral and in some cases bicameral. The capital has from the first been Ottawa, on the Ottawa river which separates Upper and Lower Canada—from this time onward separate provinces under the names of Ontario and Quebec. Into this great Dominion has come all of British North America except Newfoundland and the strip of Laborador belonging to it. The great Canadian West, its boundary with the United States being adjusted in 1846, gradually became explored, penetrated by fur traders of the great monopolies, and finally settled. Little by little it was form'd into provinces and territories having a place in the Dominion; the government having purchas'd title to the land in 1869 from the Hudson's Bay Company. From Ontario westward along to the Pacific Coast now stretch the provinces of Manitoba (1870), Saskatchewan (1905), Alberta (1905), and British Columbia (a crown colony after 1858) (1871); the first two wholly given to wheat-raising, the third to agriculture and ranching, and the last to agriculture, mining, fisheries, and commerce. The boundaries of all the provinces were in 1905 push'd greatly northward, tho' above the western ones still remains a great zone of arctic territory unsuited to regular habitation. The icy isles of the Arctic Ocean are also parts of the Dominion. Prince Edward Island in 1873 revers'd its earlier decision and joyn'd the united fabrick. Since the formation of the Dominion, its degree of independence from the Empire has increas'd to a mark'd extent, till it is now a virtually separate political entity. It is not likely, however, that any disloyal repudiation of the hereditary tie will ever take place. God Save the King! Canada's part in all the important wars of Old England is a matter of history. Old Quebec, no longer capital of Canada as a whole, has remain'd the capital of Lower-Canada, or the Province of Quebec; so that it still serves its ancient function of immediate governmental centre of the French population of the New World. Canada's arms are those of G^t Britain, with the lions of England, the lion of Scotland, the harp of Ireland, the lilies of France, and the maple-leaf of Canada, itself quarter'd in the field. The motto is "A MARI USQUE AD MARE."²⁴

Meanwhile the differences with the revolted southern colonies were not quite settled. In the western part of New-France, the Ohio and Illinois country claim'd by Quebec, there were many campaigns betwixt the rebels and the troops at the posts; the chief rebel marauder being the celebrated George Rogers Clark of Virginia. In 1779, at Vincennes, (now in Indiana) Clark captur'd Col. Henry Hamilton, His Maj^{ty's} commander at Detroit. The reason the rebels did not again attack Canada proper, was that they had ally'd themselves with the French, and did not wish to give France a renew'd foothold in the New-World. The mulcting and expulsion of loyal subjects after the success of the rebels, and in defiance of treaty promises, caus'd His Maj^{ty's} government to retain hold of the Western posts—Michillimackinac, Detroit, Niagara, Ft. Erie, (opp. Buffalo) Oswego, and Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg)—until the year 1796.

In the war of 1812, primarily started by American resentment of the seizure of seamen by His Maj^{ty's} vessels, one of the major Yankee ambitions was the conquest of Canada. This war was oppos'd by a great part of the American nation, especially New-England; hence did not prove as disastrous to old Quebec as it might otherwise have done. Most of the military events took place in the West, and in English Upper Canada; where some recent settlers from the United States had created the nucleus of a disloyal element, and arous'd in the invaders the hope of aid from within. Early in July Gen. Hull took 2000 Americans from Detroit across the strait to Canadian soil, issuing a bombastick proclamation in the role of a rescuer from British tyranny. Genl. Isaac Brock, His Maj^{ty's} commander, added to a small English force a detachment of Indians

under the great Shawnee chieftain Tecumseh; and drove the invader back to Detroit, after which he prepar'd to besiege the town. Hull, before the attack truly began, surrender'd his fortress despite his command of 2500 men and 25 pieces of ordinance against a force of only 700 English and 600 Indians.* After an armistice the Americans made another attempt on Canada, attempting to land at Queenston, just across the Niagara River from New-York. Here Gen^l Brock was kill'd, but the invaders fail'd to effect their purpose because of the refusal of some of the Yankee troops to leave American soil. In 1813 the Americans plann'd a threefold campaign against Canada—much as our old colonial forces us'd to plan campaigns against New France in the loyal days of the 1750s. Detroit, Niagara, and Montreal were the three objectives. The Detroit campaign met with varying fortunes; Americans and British occasionally pushing the engagements upon their enemies' respective soils. In September the Rhode-Island Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry destroy'd a flotilla of His Maj^{ty} on Lake-Erie, which open'd up Upper Canada to American invasion and precipitated a battle in which Chief Tecumseh (he whose Indian conspiracy against the whites was put down at Tipicanoe in 1811 by Genl. Harrison) was kill'd. The Niagara campaign open'd successfully for the invaders, and gave them possession of the Niagara peninsula. Commodore Chauncey, with a small American fleet, obtain'd control of Lake-Ontario; and in April Genl. Dearborn took the town of York (Toronto) and burn'd the public buildings—in revenge for which Adm^l Cockburn later burn'd the Yankee public buildings at Washington. In June, however, His Maj^{ty's} forces succeeded against the invaders at Stony Creek, near the west end of Lake Ontario; and by the end of 1813 had not only driven them from Canada but invaded their own soil as well. But the most serious operations, and those most closely connected with the historick region of New-France, were the moves in the American campaign against Montreal . . . whose real and ultimate objective was Kingston—the old Fort Frontenac—with its important shipyards. This attack was to be twofold; Genl. Wilkinson starting from Sackett's Harbour, on Lake Ontario, and Genl. Wade Hampton of South-Carolina (grandfather of the illustrious Confederate general) following the historick Lake Champlain route; the expeditions meeting at the mouth of the river Châteauguay and thence swooping jointly upon Montreal by way of La Chine—La Salle's seigniorial region. Wilkinson was defeated at Chrystler's Farm in Upper Canada on Novr. 11. Genl. Hampton, having enter'd Lower Canada on Sepr. 20, reach'd the junction of the rivers Châteauguay and Outard; and there encounter'd a force of 300 French-Canadians under Col. de Salaberry, which on Octr. 25 was reforc'd by 600 English under Col. Macdonnell. In the resulting battle the small Franco-English army of 900 utterly routed Hampton's 3000 invaders, causing them to retreat to their own soil. This brilliant victory did much to give spiritual union to the French and English in Canada, and the name of de Salaberry is now given to one of the principal streets of Quebec—on the plain of Abraham where the town has overflow'd the walls. It is notable that Quebec's Rue de Salaberry marks very closely the immortal battle-line of WOLFE in 1759. In 1814 a new American attack on Canada was begun; Genl. Jacob Brown expelling the Canadians from the New-York region opposite Niagara, crossing the river and taking Ft. Erie through a victory at Chippewa, but finally being check'd at Lundy's Lane. He was induc'd to retire at last thro' failure to receive naval coöperation, and thro' hearing of veteran British reinforcements at Montreal. Upper Canada being now free of the invader, His Maj^{ty's} Governor-General,

*The American prisoners at Detroit were lodg'd at Quebec in the old Union Club Bldg.—still standing—in Rue St. Louis.

Sir George Prevost, began a personally led offensive on American soil; driving the Americans toward Plattsburg, on the western side of Lake Champlain. Meanwhile the insufficient flotilla on the lake was defeated by the American fleet under Capt. Tho: Macdonough, so that in the end Prevost return'd without taking Plattsburg. This was the end of Canadian operations in the war. The later land campaigns were around Chesapeake Bay and Washington, and in the region near New Orleans; the war itself ending with the Treaty of Ghent, Decr. 24, 1814, before the final New Orleans fight of Jackson and Pakenham, who had not heard of the treaty. From that time to this there have been no hostilities betwixt the still loyal and the revolted colonies of His Maj^{ty}; whilst on the fields of Europe in 1917 and 1918 the two factions fought side by side. Thus may it ever be—and may some day the conservative forces in the revolted area help to bring back the wanderer to His Majesty's fold, thus checking the wretched quantitative barbarism of commerce and time-tables which is wrecking American civilisation. God Save the King! Minor disputes betwixt Canada and the United States have concern'd the northern boundary of Maine, and the partition of the vast Oregon territory on the Pacific Coast; both long subject to international litigation, but fairly settled prior to 1850. Other irritations have been due to American filibustering aid given to Canadian rebels in 1837–8, and to Irish-Fenian raids in the Niagara Peninsula in 1866. At times, small elements in Canada have desir'd annexation to the United-States; moves of such sentiment being perceptible in 1775, 1812, 1837, and 1849.

All this time the antient fortress-town of Quebec frown'd down from its beetling cliff unthreaten'd. The mighty fortifications—city walls, Grand Battery, Ramparts, gates, and Citadel atop dizzy Cape Diamond—were gradually put into their present form according to plans prepar'd in 1775 by the eminent French engineer Chaussegros de Léry, who had enlarg'd the Basilica to its present form in 1744. The walls and gates were fairly well advanc'd before the close of the eighteenth century, but the present Citadel was not built till 1822–23; the Duke of Wellington having meanwhile approv'd the de Léry plans for this work. At this same period the gates were largely reconstructed. The Quebec Citadel, reach'd by a steep ascent from Rue St. Louis, is still the most imposing and picturesque piece of fortification on this continent. With its walls, parades, batteries, bastions, casemated barracks, magazines, and officers' quarters covering 40 acres, it contains a square at the easterly end, overlooking the river, where the Governor-General of Canada maintains a summer residence, and where an excellent Artillery Museum is situate. From the King's Bastion, 300 feet above the river, is obtain'd what is probably the most impressive panoramick view in the Western Hemisphere. Walls and citadel have lately been repair'd by my L^d Willingdon, retiring Governor-Gen^l of Canada; and two of the gates, St. Louis and Kent, were reconstructed for permanent preservation in the middle nineteenth century. Unfortunately St. John's, Palace, Hope, and Prescott Gates have been demolish'd—all in the middle nineteenth century. Three great forts were also built on the heights of Lévis, across the river; so that in all probability Quebec is still the most strongly defended town in the New World. In the same period that the other important works were undertaken—1820—a government storehouse was erected near the custom-house (pres. loc. Marine and Fisheries Bldg.) at King's Wharf; this remaining one of the very few buildings of English-Georgian architecture in Quebec. Meanwhile the town was extending far beyond its antient walls, especially along Rue St. Jean. Rue Claire Fontaine is about the westward limit of Georgian Quebec.

In 1791—remaining till 1794—as commander of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, there came to Quebec H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, in later years father of Her Majesty,

Queen Victoria. As a town house he took the Chartiers de Lotbinière house on Rue St. Louis (#23) near the old Fort, which still stands, tho' in alter'd shape. For a country-seat he purchas'd the commodious mansion of the late Sir Fred'k Haldimand, K. C. B.—former Governor-General—at Montmorency Falls, having seen it advertis'd in the Quebec Gazette of Dec. 1, 1791. This building, now a resort hostelry known as “Kent House”, still exists in greatly enlarg'd form. The Duke entertain'd with much lavishness there, assisted by Baroness de Fortissan. In 1792 the first Canadian parliament was open'd in the old palace of Bishop St. Valier near the top of the Mountain Hill, where Montmorency Park now is, and in 1793 the Church of England was seated in Quebec—a Bishoprick under Dr. Jacob Mountain being establish'd. Popery of course remain'd dominant, but it now had a competitor. The Jesuit property had long been actually confiscated; and in 1800 dy'd Fr. Casault, last of the order in Canada, after which the Govt. formally took over the college edifices (us'd as barracks). The arrogance of the Jesuits in civil concerns well earn'd them suppression, tho' in 1889 they were financially reimburs'd for all property seiz'd by His Majesty. In 1807 the remains of the Jesuit Seminary Chapel, wreck'd by the bombardment of 1759, were demolish'd. The antient church and convent of the Recollet Fathers beside the Rue St. Anne near the Place d'Armes having been burn'd in 1796, the site was purchas'd by His Maj^{ty's} government for an Anglican Cathedral. Previously, Anglican services had been held in the Recollet church by permission of the Fathers. The new Cathedral—still standing as one of the few specimens of English Georgian architecture in Quebec—was consecrated in 1804, and is of a very fine and commodious Ionick type. The churchyards and Georgian steeples of these old English fanes form pleasing reminders of home to the visitor from England or the English colonies. In 1805 there was erected in the Place d'Armes near the Cathedral the so-called Union Bldg., on the site of old Gov. d'Ailleboust's residence of 1649. Here were held the genial festivities of the Baron's Club (1808 et seq.) and here for a time the Upper Canadian Parliament maintain'd government offices. It was in this building—still in good condition—that defensive measures against the Americans in 1812 were plann'd. In 1812, under the threat of war, 4 Martello towers were constructed outside the city on the plateau—2 in the southerly Cove fields, and 2 on the northerly cliff. Of these three now remain—those in the fields, and one bet. Rues Racine and Marchands, on the N. cliff opposite the point where Rue St. Jean blends with the Ste. Foy Rd. In 1815 occur'd a great water-front fire, one of the many destructive holocausts which this antient town has had to endure. The unusual predisposition toward sweeping fires manifested by Quebec is perhaps due to the intense winter heating made necessary by the frigid climate. St. Matthew's Anglican Church (tho' not the present building) dates from about this time, and in its churchyard is interr'd (together with other military men of that period) Thomas Scott, Esq., brother of Sir Walter, who resided in Canada as paymaster for His Maj^{ty's} 70th Regiment from 1814 to his death in 1823. The regiment was at first quarter'd in Upper Canada, but it finally came to old Quebec; and in that town dy'd also Mr. Scott's young daughter Barbara, on Oct. 3, 1821, at the age of eight. St. Matthew's is situate in Rue St. Jean, beyond the walls at the corner of Rue St. Augustin, in what was once call'd the St. John Suburb. In 1824 were built the Anglican chapel of Holy Trinity, in Rue St. Stanislas, and the Scotch church of St. Andrew in Rue St. Anne; the latter still standing in good shape. In 1827 a fine monument to Wolfe and Montcalm was erected in the Governor's Garden near the old Fort and Château—this being still in good condition after restoration in 1871. It bears the motto, “Mortem Virtus Communem, Famam Historia, Monumentum Posteritas Dedit.”²³ In 1832 and '34

(and also in 1849, 1851, 1852, and 1854) Quebec was visited by a frightful outbreak of Asiatick cholera; victims of which are bury'd in the old Cholera Burying Ground on the Plain of Abraham—off the Grand Allée (continuation of Rue St. Louis) at the head of the Rue de Salaberry, Wolfe's old battle line. In 1832 Quebec, formerly a town, was made a city by Royal decree; and in that year also the first Irish Catholick Church, St. Patrick's, was built. The fane still remains—in McMahon St. (nam'd for the Irish priest)—formerly Rue St. Hélène, off Palace Hill. In 1833 there was launch'd at Quebec the Royal William, first steamship to cross the Atlantick under its own steam. In 1834, on the night of Jany. 23, and at an hellish nightmare temperature of 22 below zero, there was destroy'd by fire the mighty Château St. Louis, antient seat of the French Royal power, which had been enlarg'd under Sir James Craig, and which was now tenanted by my L^d Aylmer. This vast feudal pile, of an area 210 × 40 feet, and beetling out over the lower town at a dizzy height of 200 feet, had been one of the most majestick, fascinating, and even terrible sights of old Quebec; its bulk recalling the days when it had harbour'd such menaces to our British safety on this continent. The fire was a spectacle of vast grandeur and danger; and burning fragments menac'd the lower town by falling over the cliff. For many years the stately blacken'd ruins were one of the picturesque sights of Quebec, but eventually they were remov'd to make way for the beginning of a magnificent 1500 foot promenade along the cliff-edge—at first call'd Durham Terrace, after L^d Durham, but later renam'd Dufferin Terrace from the subsequent Viceroy who greatly enlarg'd and improv'd it. The vast hotel Château Frontenac marks the approximate site of the old fort and chateau, and some of the ruin'd foundations still exist beneath the planks of Dufferin Terrace. In 1837 Quebec was agitated by the Canadian revolutionary disturbances; and five agitators, including the American adventurers Theller and Dodge, were imprison'd in the mighty citadel. From this stronghold, with almost incredible daring and enterprise, these two Americans actually succeeded in escaping; letting themselves down the precipitous walls of the flagstaff bastion, and later getting outside the city gates undetected, to reach eventual safety in the United States. In 1844 the first police force was organis'd; order formerly having been enforc'd by the military—under both French and English regimes. 1845 will ever be remember'd as Quebec's hideous year of flame, the St. Roch suburb being then visited on May 28 by a conflagration which nearly wip'd it out; whilst on June 28, exactly a month later, the upper-town suburbs of St. John and St. Louis were scarcely less disastrously afflicted. In the year following, the theatre adjoining the ruins of Château St. Louis—a former riding-school—was burn'd down during a performance with a loss of 45 lives. In 1852, as an adjunct of the ancient Seminary, there was founded Laval University, which has become the foremost Catholick institution of learning in North-America, with a famous library, and a branch in Montreal. The Seminary itself was founded by Bishop Laval in 1663, and open'd classes in 1666, in the house formerly occupy'd by Hébert's son-in-law Couillard on St. Famille hill, near the site of the edifice it was itself erecting. The first class contain'd 8 French boys, 6 Hurons, and some Algonquins; but it was later found impossible to educate the Indians. The Seminary was enlarg'd in 1677, burnt in 1701 and 1705, wreck'd by the shell-fire of 1759, and subsequently restor'd. Its chapel, built in 1690, was burnt in 1750 and restor'd—and has since been burnt in 1889, and supplanted in 1891 by a new chapel. The imposing new university building, built solidly contiguous to the Seminary and extending out to where the Grand Battery runs along the cliff-top, was erected in 1857, and has a belfry forming a salient point of the Quebec skyline. It overlooks almost the precise spot in the lower town where in 1775 the invaders were finally defeated at the

second Sault-au-Matlot barricade, where the tablet now is. In 1854 the old Bishop's Palace, housing the Parliament, a library, and a museum, was burnt down; so that the legislators were forc'd to remove to the new church of the Grey Nuns—which in turn fell a prey to the flames. Sittings were then held in Musick Hall, in Rue St. Louis (which was in later years—March 17, 1900—burnt). In 1859, however, a new Parliament House of the Ionick order, with dome and lanthorn like those of the Boston state house, was erected on the site of the old. This soon prov'd unsatisfactory; and in 1878 (after the formation of the Dominion) there was commenc'd that sumptuous (tho' lamentably Victorian) Provincial Parliament House on the north side of the Grande Allée, just outside St. Louis Gate, which is still the pride of Quebec. Betwixt this imposing edifice and the city wall is a park-like expanse cut by the Ave. Dufferin and having a picturesque circle in the centre. Just inside the wall at this point is the Esplanade, a former parade ground now a publick park. The broad, turf-topt wall itself can be walk'd upon on this western side; from the citadel on the south, across St. Louis and Kent Gates, to a point just short of the demolisht St. John's Gate. On the eastern side of the Esplanade, which extends from St. Louis to Kent Gate, runs the Rue d'Auteuil. The new Parliament House was begun none too soon, for in 1883 the building of 1859 burn'd down. It was in this older edifice that the famous Quebec Conference leading to the formation of the Dominion of Canada was held in 1864. The site of the old Bishop's Palace and Parliament House on Mountain Hill is now a restful cliff-edge park call'd Montmorency Park. It may be added that the newer Archbishop's Palace, a highly tasteful structure of Adam-period atmosphere, stands just across Rue Port-Dauphin from there. In 1860 the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, pay'd Quebec a memorable visit, and in that same year there was dedicated the Monument aux Braves on the Ste. Foy Rd., in memory of de Lévis's attempt to retake Quebec a century before. In 1864 came the famous Conference, and in 1866 there dy'd at his home, 14 Rue St. Flavien, the eminent Canadian historian, M. François-Xavier Garneau. It may be remark'd, that the profound and urbane culture of French Quebec hath produc'd a great number of accomplisht littérateurs, poets, historians, and genealogists; local history and genealogy indeed being there pursu'd to an extent unrivall'd in North-America. Also in 1866 was a disastrous fire in the St. Roch and St. Sauveur suburbs—and in this year a municipal fire department was establish'd. In 1867 came the Dominion, and the establishment of a Provincial Lieutenant-Governor at Quebec. The latter has a residential seat (a low, rambling mansion like a southern plantation house) call'd Spencer Wood, in the midst of an extensive park on the wild plateau west of the town beyond Wolfe's Cove, reach'd by a winding drive from the St. Louis Road. In 1869–70 the Duke of Connaught, later Governor-General of Canada, serv'd with his regiment at Quebec, and in 1870 another terrifick fire occur'd, consuming 500 houses. Other fires were in 1876, when 9 churches and 7 hotels were burnt in the St. John suburb, and 1881, when 600 houses were destroy'd. In 1879 Dufferin Terrace (formerly Durham Terrace) was open'd in its present form by L^d Dufferin. In 1884 the Prince of Wales visited Quebec. In 1889 a terrifick fire ravag'd St. Sauveur, destroying 700 houses. These fires have cost Quebec a vast number of her antient buildings, and it is indeed a wonder that so many do survive. In 1889 also came the great landslide at Cape Diamond, destroying 7 dwellings in Champlain St. and killing 66 persons. In 1890 the Duke and Duchess of Connaught visited Quebec. In 1898 Quebec's troops went forth to the Boer War. In 1900 there was laid the cornerstone of a long-wish'd bridge across the St. Lawrence west of Quebec, connecting the region with the territories to the south; but in 1907 the steel work collaps'd, taking 80 lives. In 1901

their present Majesties visited Quebec, as heirs to the throne. In 1905 Quebec became the summer port of the CPR's transcontinental steamships. In 1908 the antient town celebrated the tercentenary of its founding by Champlain; the Prince of Wales—His present Maj^{ty} George the Fifth—and Field Marshal L^d Roberts being present. On this occasion the open country west of the built-over Plain of Abraham and the Cove Fields, on the cliff-edge reaching to Wolfe's Cove south of St. Louis Road,—a former race-course—was dedicated to the heroes of 1759 as Battlefields Park, and is now a pleasing and favourite place of resort, with ramparts, walks, and a museum soon to be open'd. In 1914 came the sinking of the steamer Empress of Ireland, with the loss of 1024 lives, and the departure of the first troops for World War service. In 1915 more troops left. In 1916 the new bridge again collaps'd, but was completed next year. Meanwhile an era of monument-building had begun; important memorials in all parts of the town being dedicated from time to time. In 1919 there dy'd Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the eminent French-Canadian statesman. In 1922 the Basilica was gravely damag'd by fire, and in 1923 a destructive fire devastated St. Roch. Also in 1923 the present Prince of Wales²⁶ visited Quebec. In 1926 the great hotel Château Frontenac, erected on the site of Ft. St. Louis, was damag'd by fire. In 1928 Quebec was visited by H. R. H. Prince George, youngest son of their present Majesties. Also about this period the walls and citadels were extensively repair'd by the Governor-General, L^d Willingdon. During the nineteenth century Montreal outstript Quebec as the Canadian metropolis, and the antient capital is now the fourth, fifth, or sixth (as the new census will determine) city in the Dominion; places like Toronto, Winnipeg, Ottawa, etc. having forg'd ahead. By annexing suburbs, including Limoilou across the St. Charles but excluding Lévis across the St. Lawrence, modern Quebec shews a population figure not far from 130,000, of whom very few are foreigners, and of whom only about 5000 are English. A vast number of the dominant French, however, are fluently familiar with the English language. The motto of Quebec is "Natura fortis, industria crescit";²⁷ and in order to live up to the latter half, the town has lately made great efforts to compete with Montreal as a centre of trade. It is to be hop'd that this commercial ambition (already responsible for one terrac'd skyscraper, the Price Bldg.) will not lead to the destruction or vitiation of local quaintness. Education is largely controll'd by the Romish Church, tho' there are separate schools for the Protestant minority. No general free publick library exists, but many of the educational and religious institutions have good libraries, both French and English, available under suitable conditions; the number totalling 9. Quebec has 1 University, 1 Seminary, 1 Commercial Academy, 1 Technical School, 1 Art School, 24 commercial schools, 6 Business Colleges, and 2 Protestant high schools. There are 24 charitable institutions, 46 Popish churches, 4 Anglican churches, and 5 Dissenting meeting-houses. Gas, water, electricity, tramway, railway, and omnibus service, mercantile establishments, etc. etc. etc. all reflect a settled and prosperous modern civilisation. There are 2129 retail shops, 205 wholesale houses and 215 manufactories, and the town is a trading centre for a region 75 miles W. and S., and 100 miles N. and E. Harbour developments have been extensive. The choice upper-town shopping district centres around Rues Buade, Fabrique, and St. Jean. In the lower town retailing centres around Rues St. Joseph, St. Valier, and de la Couronne, in the St. Roch ward. The old lower town is the wholesale and financial district—St. Peter St. being the local Wall St. As a whole, Quebec has about 12,000 edifices, 425 streets totalling 101.6 miles, 47 banks, 4 daily papers, (1 English) 22 other periodicals, (2 English) 11 theatres, (cinemas) and 24 parks (9 main ones).

BOOK II. The Present State of Quebec; design'd for the Information of the New-England Traveller.

(A) The Province of Quebec, and Approaches to Quebec-City.

For the New-England traveller, the best approach to Quebec is from Boston, by a route involving the Boston and Maine, Central Vermont (Canadian Pacific), and Quebec Central railways. The rail-road cars leave the North-Station in Causeway-St., proceeding to Lowell, on the Merrimack River, and thence up that stream past the New-Hampshire factory towns of Nashua, Manchester, Concord, Laconia, and Plymouth. At Woodsville the route crosses the Connecticut-River into the colony of Vermont, formerly His Maj^{ty}'s New-Hampshire Grants; thence proceeding northward thro' excellent northern New-England scenery from Wells River thro' Passumpsick, St. Johnsbury, Lyndonville, and Newport. In this northerly region the topography and architecture are still typically Novanglian, but many public notices—as of fairs at Sherbrooke, and the like—proclaim the close relationship of the inhabitants to the northward and still loyal province of Quebec. At Derby Line Vermont soil is left behind, and the traveller is made sensible that he is at last speeding over the actual present domains of His Britannick Majesty. GOD SAVE THE KING!!

Those parts of Quebec Province near the Vermont border—the English-settled Eastern Townships—have an Anglo-Saxon nomenclature and do not differ substantially in aspect and atmosphere from those of old New-England. Beebe Junction—Boynnton—Ayers' Cliff—Massawippi—Woodland Bay—North Hatley—Eustis—Capelton—Lennoxville—Sherbrooke—all these sound like New-England, and *are* like it. Only in subtle ways—the use of the word "Imperial" in the names of products advertised on posters and billboards, and so on—does one realise that the rebel colonies are left behind. God Save the King! For a moment one feels a touch of homesickness in the knowledge that one is soon to pass from among familiar English sights and ways. Sherbrooke is a small city of very pleasing aspect, not unlike the average place of corresponding size in the United States. Its hotels and streets have good Anglo-Saxon names—New Sherbrooke House—Grand Central—New Wellington—Albion—American House—King George—King St.—Depot St.—Wellington St.—Aberdeen St.—Minto St.—etc.—and only when one catches the word "Rue" on an obscure street-sign does one realise that French is the dominant legal language of the province. Beyond Sherbrooke the atmosphere begins to exhibit subtle differences—both as regards the face of Nature, and as regards the creations of mankind. French signs and advertisements begin to appear in the villages, though the names and architecture are still English—Ascot—East Angus—Bishop's Crossing—Marbleton—and so on. This is obviously a region first settled by us, and subsequently overrun by the southward-flowing French, like the manufacturing towns of Rhode-Island and other New-England states. In visual aspect the country is often highly impressive, with great sweeps of rolling terrain affording magnificent vistas of wooded valley and river-bends. To a Southern-New-Englander the vegetation seems sparse and meagre; a thing one notices to a lesser degree in Vermont. Along the river-banks, however, it is darker and thicker. Frequently one beholds evidences that this is a lumbering country; the rivers being in many places jam'd thick with logs, while deforested stump areas are numerous. The farther we go, the more unlike New-England the region seems. There are here absolutely no stone walls, but crooked rail fences of the antient Virginia type. The barns

resemble New-England's, but the houses are more like cheap Victorian suburban cottages than like New-England farmhouses. This is doubtless because this particular belt of country was not settled thickly till the Victorian age—if indeed it may be call'd really *thickly* settled even now. There are great tenantless stretches, and not very much visible agriculture. We do not find here the much-prais'd beauty and quaintness of antient French cottages, as occurring in the older parts of the province, but merely a kind of squalor and dinginess much like that of foreigners in New-England. There are, however—as Sherbrooke falls farther and farther behind—some pleasantly curious village churches built in a manner distinctly French; and another notable thing is the profusion of bright flowers (if one, as wisdom dictates, travel in summer) even around some of the most squalid hovels. The squalor reminds one of the barren sandy uplands of the Piedmont Carolinas, and indeed many of the French cottages are not much better than nigger cabins. There are even a few *log* huts, and huts of half-hewn timbers. Sundry touches of the unfamiliar are supply'd by certain of the telegraph or telephone poles, which are of an European type not seen in New-England. If the traveller, as very frequently, chances to make this trip during a misty but clearing dawn; he will behold vivid evidences of the subtly northern realm he is entering. In the south the skies are hard and decided; and transitions from light to darkness, darkness to light, clearness to cloud, and cloud to clearness, are accomplisht suddenly—without delicate and imagination-stirring gradations. As a possible result, the races of the south are sharp and realistic in the moods; and but little given to the ingrain'd brooding, phantasy, and mysticism of the northern, forest-nurtured Teutons and Celts, who have for uncounted millennia watch'd and wonder'd at the gradual, elusively provocative, and sometimes supernal and apocalyptick mutations of earth and sea and sky around them. Here in boreal Quebec an advancing morning of dissolving mist is food for any fancy; the grotesque and ethereal forms of the haunted vapours, and the strange tricks they play with the sunlight as they churn and spiral upward from the horizon, forming something wholly unprecedented for the untravell'd Southern New-Englander. Especially exotick is the vast abundance of denuded forest land displaying endless reaches of withering stumps; a melancholy and even sinister sight. And to complete the exoticism in a less dismal way, one beholds striking and omnipresent evidences of the French-Canadian agricultural custom of making endless rows of *very small haystacks*; things not an eighth of the size of those which the Yankee farmer makes, or us'd to make. After a time the train reaches a grey and ugly area—Thetford Mines—containing the world's largest asbestos mine—an area wholly given over to this industry, and abominably depressing in consequence. From the windows one beholds stupendous and Cyclopean quarry-pits—one of which seems to shatter all records for its kind. Upon leaving Thetford Mines behind, the traveller is glad to find himself in a distinctly older part of the province—the older parts naturally being those toward Quebec City. The landscape becomes extremely magnificent; involving in many places bold hills and glimpses of river valley like the Connecticut-Valley or Shenandoah regions, and in other places flattish expanses and gently rolling hills enabling the eye to span seemingly limitless leagues of sunlit verdure and zigzag rail fences. This region is *rocky*—exactly like New England—but has singularly few *trees* of any sort; its bareness in this respect reminding one of rural Ohio. Here, also, we begin to encounter typical old-time French farmhouses—genuine outgrowths of the historic native building tradition. They are not the really *oldest* edifices, for the early farming land was on the north side of the St. Lawrence; but they probably date from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and are authentick developments of the original style—made of wood instead of stone. Among the most

distinctive features is the *curving roof-line*, which to the superficial eye suggests the Dutch curve so familiar in the Province of New-York. A representative survey, however, shews that most of them are differently proportion'd—there being no gambrels, and the long downward sweep being perfectly straight except at the eaves, as in the accompanying sketch. This idiosyncrasy, soon found to be the typical mark of an old French cottage, closely resembles a kindred curve found in the oldest urban houses of Charleston, in His Maj^{ty's} Province of South-Carolina; and suggests that the Charlestonian usage was imported by the numerous Huguenot settlers who exercis'd so much influence there. An important work on architecture obstinately maintains that the Charleston custom is Dutch—pick'd up by the Huguenots during their stay in Leyden—but the evidence of Quebec is all to contrary. Another distinctive French feature of these old houses—which we shall likewise find universal in urban Quebec—is the type of *window*, especially (as regards the farmhouses) in the gable ends. It is of the hing'd casement type, and has the French horizontal cross-bars instead of the small panes of our old houses.



The trims and lintels, also, are distinctive (*see sketch*). This window type is not found in Charleston, nor has the present writer observ'd it elsewhere in the United States. Another typically French manifestation is the *slender spire sometimes surmounting the old barns*—which are otherwise quite like New-England colonial barns. The prevailing type of needle-like spire and small cupola tends to suggest the Old Ship Church at Hingham, in His Maj^{ty's} Province of the Massachusetts-Bay. In general, these houses and farm buildings are arrang'd much like those of a New-England farm. Were it not for the local and national variations here mention'd, and for the total lack of trees and stone walls, one might well imagine himself in New-England when viewing one of the typical landskips near Quebec City. Only when a typically French village steeple is glimps'd across the meadows, does the dominant impression become violently exotic. These ornate steeples, however, with their frequent coating of tin, are wholly alien in atmosphere when contrasted with our white Georgian village spires embower'd in greenery. It may be added that the eaves of the old Quebec houses—both rustic and urban—all have a tendency to project; the roof overhanging the walls on all four sides. At Beauce Junction the train encounters the River Chaudière, famous for Arnold's expedition of 1775; after which the scenery becomes steadily more and more picturesque—many slender French steeples revealing the presence of villages here and there. As the train nears the St. Lawrence, on the high ground betwixt Diamond and Charny, there is a suspicion of a view of distant QUEBECK itself, far off across the river; and one strains to test the reality of the steep-roof'd, battlemented and headland-perch'd silhouette which hovers so magically and alluringly on the borderline of ethereal phantasy. Thus it must have been glimps'd by Arnold and his men as they near'd the end of their gruelling voyage thro' the wilderness—its mirage-like doubtfulness half-symbolising the failure to which their bold enterprise was destin'd. The train crosses the Chaudière basin at a vast height, but does not afford a view of the celebrated falls marking the confluence of this stream with the St. Lawrence. Charny, the last village encounter'd on the St. Lawrence's southern shoar, gives one an appetising welcome to Old World feudal antiquity by displaying a picturesque and quite unparallel'd cluster of typical French steeples. Then comes the great Quebec Bridge—that vast feat of engineering whose completion was accomplish'd only after two disastrous failures. He who sees the titanick river from its dizzying height for the

first time, is given an impression which time is powerless to efface. Tho' the great stream is here at its narrowest, so far as its lower course is concern'd, an impression of prodigious breadth is convey'd by looking eastward. The sensation is that of a lake or sea, and the suggestion of dreamlike exoticism is intensify'd by the strange, slender spires which rise on every hand—Sillery Church lower down on the shore ahead, and the bristling steeples of Lévis and Charny on the high cliffs we are leaving behind. For a moment it is hard to connect this breathless vista with unmagical reality, or to realise that one is not being wafted bodily into the midst of some vast picture vivid with adventurous expectancy. The headland on the north shoar to which the bridge finally takes us, is Cap-Rouge, fam'd as the wintering place of Jacques Cartier's third (1541) expedition, and as the seat of Sieur de Roberval's unsuccessful convict colony of 1542. It is still wholly rural, and as we gain and penetrate the land we find this northerly region more forested, topographically diversified, and generally like New-England than the Chaudière Valley we have left behind. The train crosses the Quebec peninsula toward the narrow St. Charles, passing not far from the antient village and church of Ste. Foy, and the Huron village of Lorette, and remaining on the lower level of ground. As it turns eastward to follow the right bank of the St. Charles, the increasingly precipitous upper-town plateau looms up on the right, topped by the ever-thickening roofs and spires of the ancient city. The sight is moving beyond belief; yet the view toward the left is scarcely less alluring—expanses of pleasant green countryside, with the mystical purple peaks of the Laurentian Mountains looming austere in the far background. At length the St. Sauveur and St. Roch Suburbs press closely against the tracks on our right; the archaick general hospital almost touching us as we pass it. On our left, at the same point, we see Victoria Park beyond a picturesque loop in the St. Charles. A moment later we are skirting Rue Prince Edward in the St. Roch slums, and beholding the quaint and distinctive architecture of the old French houses there. The oldest part of the upper town is now fairly close, and we can distinguish many of the silver-shining steeples and the towering Norman roof of the colossal Château Frontenac. The majesty of the great cliff and climbing down begins to ingulph us—and at last the train stops, in a park-fronted station not far from where old lanes climb toward and beyond the ancient Palace Gate.

Emerging from the station, we are struck by the overpowering archaick spell of the beautiful old town. On our left, a row of mellow antient buildings lines one side of the vista toward the city; whilst straight ahead looms the titanick cliff and the labyrinth of centuried roofs and steeples and curving lanes climbing and crowning it. Running along the base of the moderate rise which leads up from the level plain to the foot of the cliff proper is the broad trunk thoroughfare Rue St. Paul, on which we may discern the great hotel Château Champlain, marking the site of the mansion built and tenanted by the illustrious Intendant Jean Talon. High above the roofs of the houses in Rue St. Paul we behold the Cyclopean masonry of a colossal heavenward rampart which seems to hint of exotick mysteries remote in space and time. This, we shall learn, is where the city wall descends the cliff from the west to Palace Gate, and is surmounted by the upward continuation forming the wall of the ancient artillery barracks, (1750) now the Dominion Arsenal. To the left of this the roofs of the rambling Hôtel Dieu hospital rise, while high up—in the far distance over all the rest of the picture—the park of the Château Frontenac can be glimps'd. Here and there a curious silver spire provokes the imagination; and the curving lines of the curious uphill lanes which lead to the demolish'd Palace Gate and beyond—Rue St. Nicolas on the right and Rue Lacroix on the left—beckon with an antique, mystical charm well-nigh impossible to resist.

Before viewing the antient town, however, it may be well to obtain a somewhat fuller picture of its rural background; to which end a fleeting glimpse of the venerable North Shore countryside toward Montmorency Falls and beyond is advisable. For this purpose one may, upon leaving the tasteful and traditionally steep-roof'd Union Station and advancing to St. Paul St., turn to the left for a single block and board an electric train of the Quebec Railway, Light, and Power Co., which traverses the region in question, often close to the shoar, and passes the foot of the great Montmorency cataract in a way affording a magnificent view. The train, upon setting out, crosses the St. Charles on a railway bridge built in 1890, and enters the somewhat colourless suburb and junction-point of Limoilou. Turning eastward, it soon shakes off the urban penumbra and enters a countryside of intense beauty, quite comparable to some of the finest regions of New-England in general topography. Ancient houses are not as numerous as one might expect, but many distinctively French specimens exist—especially a characteristic type also found in the urban part of Quebec and probably dating from the early nineteenth century, with gambrel roof having a steep, curved lower pitch, flattish dormers, and heavily projecting cornices. There are also new houses, some of them embodying architectural features peculiar to the locality. What old houses one does behold, are of the choicest and most picturesque sort, with curve-eav'd, projecting roof, whitewash'd stone sides, end chimneys, dormers, and other earmarks of early French construction. Such

cottages are generally low—a story and a half. (see sketch) All houses in the region—new and old, nearly without exception—have the French type of casemate window. Now and then—but oftener from the highway than from the train—a wayside shrine with Cross and bleeding Saviour, or Madonna and Child, is to be seen; and occasional village



steeple and church towns add to the quaintness of the idyllick landskip. In this region one finds many surviving examples of the small dog-drawn carts used in France and the Low Countries for transporting milk and other rural products. Though much affected by modern change and urban proximity, the countryside is still extremely archaic in its life, customs, and institutions; affording a hint of the quaint and idyllick conditions undoubtedly existing in the less accessible parts of the province. This is the region where in 1759 Montcalm had his battle line, remnants of the redoubts being still visible near the beach. Montcalm had his headquarters in the antient Giffard manor-house, ruins of which still remain. From the tower of the church at Beauport Gov' Vaudreuil watch'd the French troops send out fire-ships in a vain attempt to destroy His Majesty's fleet. After the taking of Quebec, this Beauport region was overrun by our troops, whose conduct was more savage than necessity call'd for. The divisions perpetrating this vindictive occupation, oddly enough, were commended by Col. Alexander Montgomery, brother of the gallant officer who sided with the rebels in 1775 and was kill'd at Près-de-Ville barricade. The Beauport or Côte de Beaupré region, antiently call'd Côte des Pères, (after the Jesuit fathers who once held much of the land) was a seat of many important seigniories. As the train progresses, the quaintness of the scenery is enhanc'd by the several

shore towns encounter'd—fishing villages like St. Gregoire, with curious parish steeple towering above clusters of archaick roofs, and with glimpses of picturesque lanes and strips of beach. History again intervenes to remind us that it was here that Phips made his attempt to secure a land foothold in 1690, only to suffer repulse. The political unit hereabouts, we may note, is the *parish* (as in most French regions, including Louisiana); those east of Quebec, in the Côte de Beaupré region, being Giffard, Beauport, St. Gregoire, Boischatel, L'Ange Gardien, Château Richer, Ste. Anne de Beaupré, Beaupré, and St. Joachim. Here, as elsewhere, the overshadowing influence of the Popish religion amongst a simple populace is everywhere manifest. At length we come to a tract of flat beach land, with station and park in the foreground, and with a vast line of lofty cliffs, comparable to the Quebec and Lévis cliffs, or the Palisades of New-Jersey, rising a few rods inland, on our left. Over this cliff-line, from a height of 270 feet, in plain sight of the train, there thunders the rushing bulk of the Montmorency River—plunging from its pine-grown plateau to the flats of the St. Lawrence level in a mass of tumultuous foam. To one who has never before seen a great cataract, the effect of this natural wonder is stupendous and awe-inspiring—an effect which increases as one approaches it and hears the full magnitude of its cosmic roar. An ingenious elevator conveys one to the summit of the vast cliff—the upper level on which the highways and general Montmorency countryside are located. Here we behold the old Georgian mansion built by Gen' Haldimand and later inhabited by the Duke of Kent—now enlarg'd and open as a public hostelry under the name of Kent House. Here also we find the antient and typical whitewash'd stone cottage of old French design which the immortal WOLFE us'd as an headquarters, and within which, from a sick-bed of pain and peril, he plann'd that glorious campaign whereby Quebec became ours. God Save the King! In 1759 the Montmorency River—boundary betwixt the parishes of Beauport and L'Ange Gardien—form'd the frontier betwixt Montcalm's lines and our own. Beyond Montmorency Falls we see the brick works now forming Quebec's leading industry, and later encounter some fine countryside around L'Ange Gardien and Château Richer. Finally the train reaches quaint and curious Ste. Anne de Beaupré, whose popish shrine has made it one of the most celebrated spots on the continent. With its many chapels, spectacles, and monuments, its famous reliques and art objects, and its rapidly progressing new Basilica, this place is well worthy of a day's exploration. The so-call'd Old Chapel on the hillside is built of the materials of the demolish'd church of 1676—the steeple and ball being the same that were added to the antient fane in 1694. Beyond the village lie Beaupré, Quey-lus, St. Joachim, lofty (2000 ft) Cap Tourmente, (where the water becomes salt) and eventually Murray Bay, Tadoussac with its antient settlement, and the mouth of the gloomy and impressive River Saguenay, which flows down from Lac St. Jean and Chicoutimi betwixt great cliffs and headlands. It is not possible, however, to survey the whole Province of Quebec in a single tour of ordinary magnitude; hence we must limit ourselves to a consideration of that which serves a direct setting for the ancient capital. The Province in general is probably the most remarkable bit of the Old World to be found in America. Agriculture, dairying, fisheries, and forestry still form leading industries; and the simple habitant population, under the sway of their priests, live both physically and mentally in a seventeenth century atmosphere. The French are very prolific, causing the population to double every 29 years; but instead of remaining congested in urban and suburban zones, they tend to spread rapidly—overflowing into the Eastern Townships, Ontario, and New-England, as well as pushing north around Lac St. Jean and in the subarctic parts of the Province. Some immigration from France has occurred—especially of members of expell'd religious orders—but in general immigration

has not been a major factor in Quebec history. There are probably fewer foreigners in Quebec than in any other American city of any prominence save Charleston. The Popish church is a supreme governing influence; controlling education and having the payment of tithes by members enforced by civil law. The local government is wholly in the hands of the French, and nowadays there is but little friction with the English; who, tho' a minority population, are still in control of financial, commercial, and railway interests. The rural dialect is an archaic Norman-Breton patois, and the civil law of the province is based on the old Custom of Paris, the pre-Revolutionary code of antient Bourbon France.

(B) The Aspect and Architecture of Quebec.

(1) Architecture.

Urban Quebec, the most antient, exquisitely lovely, historically glamorous and mystically picturesque city in the northern part of America, deserves the closest study from every historian, architect, and devotee of beauty and phantasy. With its fortress-crown'd green headland jutting skyward from the mile-wide St. Lawrence, its mediaeval city walls and gates, its endless tiers of steep roofs, red or glittering with silver, climbing a grim, grey cliff-line, its numberless silver spires catching the rays of the sun, its impressive glimpses of ancient ramparts and battlements, its labyrinth of quaint, centuried houses huddled along winding lanes and scaling precipices at impossible angles, its rambling flights of steps from plain to upper town, its grey, archaick churches and convents, its urbane, kindly throngs with their sprinkling of black-rob'd monks and priests, its hordes of horse-drawn calèches, its breath-taking and unexpected vistas of urban quaintness, landscape and river grandeur, and distant mountain-wonder, its restful squares, its curious old facades, doorways, and windows, its park-like sweeps of hillside up to the citadel, its air of civilised leisure, and its general allegiance to a background-linked, Old-World order which has largely pass'd away on this continent . . . with all these things, Quebec seems scarcely part of the waking world at all; but rather a miraculously crystallis'd fragment of one of those vague, elusive dreams where all our memories of art and literature and experience fuse tantalisingly into some momentary panorama of luminous ultimate wonder and beauty corresponding to nothing in objective existence, but underlying all our conceptions of supernal paradises, transcendental memories, and gateways of sunset magic and adventurous expectancy. Sir Michael Sadler of Oxford, whose opinions are bas'd upon extensive travel and sensitive appreciation, places Quebec amongst the twenty most beautiful cities of the world²⁵—a list so rigorously compiled as to exclude all other towns of North and South America, and to reject even antient London with its spires and domes and memories. Sir Michael's twenty most beautiful towns are the following: Rome, Florence, Venice, Vienna, Constantinople, Paris, Stockholm, The Hague, Budapest, Nuremburg, Gothenburg, Obder-Tanbau, Dijon, Angouleme, QUEBECK, Agra, Benares, Edinburgh, Bath, and Oxford. The best single view of Quebec is probably that to be had from the cliffs of Point Lévis, across the St. Lawrence, or from boats and ferries plying that majestick stream. Thus seen, the antient town is a marvel of enchantment and loveliness beyond the power of men to describe. With half-closed eyes and fancy withdrawn from realistik detail, we glimpse the whole fabrick of headland, cliff, citadel, roofs, and spires as a solid exotic carving, of which the natural and artificial features blend imperceptibly into one another. The effect is curiously like that of lower New-York city as seen from the heights of Brooklyn. In that marvellous vista, we are led to confuse the peaks of the vast sky-

scrapers with the spires of some haunted hill town, and to think of the windowed terraces that climb the sky as terraces of strange houses climbing the earth. Here we have the reality which New-York imitates—an actual hill town where nothing is merely false or illusory and where solid background, enchanted antiquity, and continuous racial tradition and habitancy are actual living realities. Looking more sharply and closely, we see individual colours and contours and features begin to stand out. The ancient waterfront with quays, warehouses, classick customs-house, and ships riding at anchor—the irregular lines of ramparts and climbing streets—the tiers of steep slant roofs, the green of foliage, and the lighter tones of great public edifices—the dizzy height of Cape Diamond with its citadel of frowning bastions, and the glorious ensign of BRITANNIA floating over all—the towering Norman roof of the mighty Château Frontenac—the grey abutments of Dufferin Terrace—the gleaming walls and golden dome of the post office—the silver spires of churches and convents—the blue of a northern sky over the pale grey of the citadel, the dark, rust-streak'd grey of the cliffs, and the patches of green mingling with the grey—the commanding bulk and imperious steeple of Laval University where the landscape-line drops precipitously to the Lower Town at the turn of the gigantick cliff—the blue of the river, the chequer'd and undulant green of the roof-and-steeple-dotted countryside beyond—the lone steeple of Sillery up the river—the purple, mystical Laurentians toward the north, looming hazily like the serrated edge of an unknown planet rising beyond the horizon—all these things unite to make of Quebec's totality a sight more gorgeous, alluring, dream-like, and potentially adventurous than anything else the New-World imagination can conceive. But the most marvellous thing of all is that there is no disillusion behind this mirage-like glamour. The picture is not the elusive and insubstantial dream which we instinctively fear it to be. Indeed, a close approach and exploration not only does not detract from the spell, but actually intensifies and doubles it. Quebec is a realisation of that always-beckoning and bitterly-tantalising conception of imaginative infancy—a fairy-tale picture into which one can actually walk, and whose outspread wonders one can actually touch and savour and sample.

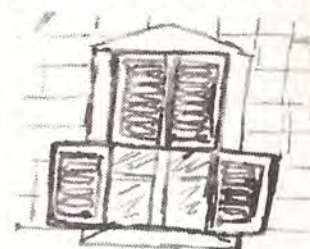
The buildings of Quebec, notwithstanding the frequent great fires and occasional cases of ill-advised destruction, (as of the Jesuits' College near the upper-town marketplace, the de Léry manor in the Seminary grounds, etc.) still include a marvellous proportion of seventeenth and eighteenth century specimens; and the town's archaick air is intensified by the conservative persistence of antient architectural traditions. Some ugly Victorian atrocities occur; but few of them are as bad as corresponding examples in the United States, whilst nearly all of them are subordinated by their harmonious old French setting. English Georgian edifices are very few in number—outstanding examples being the English Cathedral, St Andrew's Church, and the government storehouse at King's Wharf. Fanlighted Georgian doors are rare, but not wholly absent. The most antient type of private house (see sketch) as represented by the Montcalm headquarters at Rues St. Louis and Desjardins (oldest house in Quebec—1641) is of a single full story with two attick stories, has an



exaggeratedly steep roof like the rare Colonial "lightning splitters" of Providence, and is distinguish'd by ponderously overhanging cornice and *double rows of dormers*—a feature, in America, quite peculiar to French Canada. Steep roofs and double rows of dormers also distinguish the antient publick buildings, tho' in this case the roofs are balanc'd in the manner suitable to their more ambitious purpose. Solid blocks seem to have been the custom from a very early period, and the dominant building materials were stone and stucco'd brick, as in most towns of continental European heritage. Houses of the second period—the early eighteenth century—are more like the brick town houses—with slant roof and dormers—of the English colonies of the same period, save that their roofs are steeper, and that their end chimneys are very broad and thin (*see sketch*). Others are more like the rural cottages, with curving eaves like those found in Charleston. Some of these differ in having two full stories and often two atticks with typical double dormer tiers of urban Quebec (*see lower sketch*). The roofs of these, on the average, are rather sharper than the rural roofs. In all these cases there is a heavy cornice overhang suggesting the cornices of Newport, R.I., which may have arisen from French Huguenot influence. Many of the best specimens of these older roofs are found in slums of the most dismal description. We may note in passing, that in cases of double dormer rows the upper ones are almost invariably the smaller. This accords with the French custom of gracefully diminishing the height of windows on successively ascending stories—a custom found in late-Georgian and early-Victorian English and American houses, and coincident with a copying of French modes. The windows of the earliest houses were undoubtedly of the early type with leaded diamond panes, but no specimens now remain in situ. There is a possibility that small square panes of the English type were experimented with at the end of the seventeenth century, but they could never have obtained any genuine foothold. Broadly speaking, the eighteenth century transition was to the French type of vertically halved casement window with heavy vertical bars closing into one broad centre bar, and with two lighter horizontal bars in each half (*see sketch*). The type seems to be quite universal; both in urban edifices of every description, publick and private, and in all the rural cottages. Dividing bars were and are generally painted white. This type of window seems to have persisted to the present with very little interruption of use. A common tendency of early gable ends is to contain the chimney and to exceed the outline of the edifice in size, thus forming a sort of flange or false side. This occurs elsewhere, but in Quebec the discrepancies betwixt house and gable in size and even shape appear to be given an unique latitude (*see sketch on right*). There are many cases of a quasi-mediaeval gable end (*see sketch on left*) strongly like a type found with extreme rarity in Charleston—naturally sug-



gesting the Huguenot origin of the latter. Indeed, the visual resemblances betwixt the local street scenes of Quebec and those of Charleston are—allowing for differences in terrain and occasional subtropical variants in the latter town—exceedingly numerous and well-mark'd. In the middle and later eighteenth-century, types of Quebec domestic architecture seem to have become more sumptuous and vary'd. There were some square houses, with roof-slopes meeting in a point (*see small sketch*); the less steep-roof'd ones being not unlike the English Georgian models of the period (cf. Boswell's Brewery). More frequent, however, were tall, slant roof'd houses of a Parisian type—or at least, of types common in the best French provincial towns. Of these tall, slant-roof'd houses the choicest specimens are to be found along the Rue St. Louis, and in other streets near the old fort like Avenue St. Denis. In them we see many of the characteristics found in older and smaller houses—such as flange-like gable ends, (tho' in these cases the flange effect is generally confin'd to the roof, not extending to the facade proper) steep roof lines, etc. The windows frequently have iron grilles or balconies—especially the lower ones. The doors are of a characteristic French type unlike our Georgian forms—tall and narrow, with high, rectangular pediments which, together with the jambs, frequently bear elaborate carving of Gallick renaissance or pseudo-classick baroque or rococo design. Flights of steps and railings are not frequent, steps being generally inside the street doors, just as in many old Boston houses the steps leading to the door are recessed inside open archways flush with the sidewalk-line. The tallness of these French doorways is sometimes very conspicuous—the door opening on the street from the sidewalk level, and the top of the pediment reaching as high as the top of the ground-floor tier of windows (*see sketch on right*). Doors were often double—vertically divided, as in Colonial Philadelphia. Tall French windows reaching to the floor are not uncommon on the ground story, and the upper windows frequently possess the French half-opening blinds common to Quebec—blinds divided both vertically and horizontally like Dutch doors, so that the lower halves can be flung open whilst the upper halves remain clos'd. This sort of blind is so characteristic of every kind of Quebec building—old or later, large or small, publick or private—that it deserves to be noted with particular attention. (*see sketch*). Another feature of some of the fine houses of this later eighteenth century period—especially brick houses—is the presence of vast shallow embrasures in the facades, sometimes surrounding a single window, and sometimes a group of two windows. This is a thing not absolutely peculiar to Quebec, but follow'd there



to an extent making it typical. In general, the tasteful mansion of the Rue St. Louis may be said to tend toward height and narrowness; with steep roof, end chimneys, tall front doors, tall, floor-reaching, ground-story windows with outside grilles, half-blinds on upper windows, and (sometimes) large shallow embrasures in the facades. Coming into the nineteenth century, we find on every hand—and especially where the old town overflowed its eighteenth century limits, or was rebuilt after a conflagration—an overwhelmingly characteristic type of old-Quebeck small house or cottage, whose use also spread like wildfire to the adjacent villages. This type has a gambrel roof of tremendously steep lower pitch, like the antient Swedish houses of Delaware; but with that pitch curv'd—tho' not at all in the familiar Dutch manner. The type of curvature may be compar'd to that of the all-too-familiar "French roof" of American houses of 1870. In this steep curved lower pitch are (necessarily flattish) dormers; and sometimes there are dormers—small ones, and of naturally opposite proportions—in the upper, non-curv'd, and more horizontal pitch; thus sustaining the tradition of the French double rows of dormers. Virtually all the houses of this description have only one full story, tho' the steepness of the lower gambrel pitch makes the nominal half-story above virtually a second full story. In the case of the larger cottages with two rows of dormers, there is of course a second and very shallow upper story or attic. These houses all have very heavily projecting eaves, sometimes supported by a line of prominent corbels (see sketch at right).



The best and most frequent specimens with double dormer rows are to be found in the quaint old streets of the St. John suburb, leading uphill toward the south from Rue St. Jean (see sketch on left). It seems probable that houses of this type were built quite late into the nineteenth century, in accordance with typical Quebec conservatism, for the number of ugly and typically Victorian dwellings is relatively slight. The more recent houses of the city—including those now under construction—are of a peculiar and unique description, tho' not without resemblances to older Quebec architecture; and are characterised in many cases by broad piazzas. They tend toward basements and more or less high flights of steps; and generally—when of the two-family sort—have a long curving outside flight of steps leading to the upstairs piazza and front door. Another type of house—probably suburban or semi-rustick when built, as judg'd by style and location—resembles the trim New England suburban cottages of about 1830, and has a front doorway with sidelights and transom. The distinctive feature is the great proportionate width of the sidelights, plus the fact that they are often set with shutters. Transoms with shutters are also fairly frequent—and the general use of shutters on sidelights and transoms does not seem to be entirely confined to the type of house just mention'd. The public buildings of Quebec are vary'd in style, an unfortunately large number being of Victorian date. They are not, however, among the worst specimens of their period; and their general Gallo-renaissance designs accord better with the prevailing old French architecture than they would with the Georgian architecture of an old New England town. Some of them attempt to reproduce old French forms of monumental design, and it cannot be said that such piles as the Château Frontenac and the Union Station are wholly unsuccessful. Among the more



frankly Victorian edifices are the vast Parliament House, the City Hall, the Court House, and various commercial edifices. The post office, with its renaissance-classick leaning and golden dome, is much more meritorious; whilst the classick custom-house, profoundly British in conception, is really attractive. It is notable that domes are very infrequent things in Quebec; those of the Post Office and Custom House being the only prominent specimens one can recall off-hand. Of recent-American terraced functional architecture there is fortunately only one specimen as yet—the tall Price Bldg. in the upper town. Even this has adopted the steep Norman roof in order not to clash too violently with the dominant architecture of the city. The really old public buildings—Ursuline Convent, Hôtel-Dieu, (old part) Seminary, General Hospital, etc.—are admirably tasteful edifices, and reflect the highest credit on the seventeenth century architecture of the French. The accompanying sketch shews the earliest and best preserv'd specimen—the General Hospital by the St. Charles, to which both Montcalm and Benedict Arnold were taken after their respective battle injuries. Many of these old buildings—especially the Hôtel-Dieu—have been plac'd at a disadvantage by ugly Victorian additions, and so far there has been no tendency toward restorations. Quebec, indeed, tho' noted for its historical scholarship, is not dispos'd to regard its antient monuments in a museum spirit; but continues to use them for their original purposes, adding such auxiliaries as are necessary to adapt them to current requirements. This is no doubt a result of that pronounc'd continuity of atmosphere which makes antient, conservative towns like Quebec and Charleston so unique and fascinating. In such places, there is a lack of antiquarian care for the past because there is no sense of departure from the past. We do not try to recapture something which we are not conscious of losing, and in Quebec the original cultural impulse and original set of folkways still function. One Quebec building which deserves especial mention is the Archbishop's Palace at the head of Mountain Hill. Though apparently of Victorian date, chronologically, it is of a splendid eighteenth century design; without the least hint of the vitiated taste of the post-1830 period. As we have seen, there is very little British Georgian material in Quebec; the only prominent surviving specimen, aside from the English churches, being the government storehouse at King's Wharf, erected in 1820. The city gates and towers of Quebec belong to the 1870 period, and unhappily shew it. At a suitable distance, however, they loom up with ineffable charm.



The churches of Quebec, in general, follow antient French traditions; having either tall slender steeples or less soaring belfries of rather open or skeletonic construction. Those belfry-steeples, which in urban Quebec vastly outnumber the tall spires, have some resemblance to the less lofty steeples of Sir Christopher Wren, (his actual London work, and not the tapering later-Georgian spires erroneously attributed to him) and to the high, slender belfries of American churches, academies, and halls in

the early Republican period. Their form is a very antient one, and has chang'd but little since the seventeenth century, as is attested by specimens (like that on the old chapel at Ste. Anne de Beaupré) which have surviv'd from that period. What makes them especially distinctive in Quebec—aside from their immense numerousness, which results from the priest-ridden psychology of French Canada—is the antient local practice of surfacing them with gleaming tin; so that they glisten mystically and allusively in the sun, like the pinnacles and minarets of a fabulous silver dream-city. This custom of tinning extends to the roofs of other types of buildings; but nowhere is its effect so exotic, breath-taking, and fancy-stirring, as when it appears in connexion with a belfry-steeple—whether of a church, a seminary, a convent, an hospital, or any other sort of edifice. It is almost impossible to conceive of any urban vista more provocative of imaginative ecstasy, and of the sense of magical gateways opening on adventurous dream-worlds of exotick wonder, than a chance glimpse of one of these silver spires at the end of an ancient uphill or downhill street; ending with a touch of lunar necromancy a perspective laden with the mystery of years and forgotten secrets. Of such vistas, the town affords a very great number; especially in the western districts outside the walls or just within them. Particularly striking examples are the steeple of the Men's Congregational Church in Rue d'Auteuil (or Dauphine), seen from Rue St. Jean at St.

John's gate, crowning a breathless uphill prospect of antient roofs and city walls; that of the Sisters of Charity Church at Rues Richelieu and Glacis, seen downhill from Rue St. Jean through Rues Glacis or d'Youville; that of St. Jean Baptiste in Rue St. Jean, seen down Rue Claire Fontaine from any point high above St. Jean; and that of St. Roch, at Rues St. Joseph and de l'Eglise from many points in the St. John upper-town suburb. The great Basilica in the upper town has an impressive facade added about 1845, with towers as mis-mated as those of St. Sulpice in Paris, tho' in no way suggesting the latter. Of these towers one is crown'd by a belfry-steeple of the old French type. It would be impossible to enumerate all the picturesque belfry-steeples in a town fairly bristling with such objects; and one may add that part of their very charm lies in this dense and unidentifiable profusion—a profusion which adds an element of uncertainty, mysticism, and adventurous exoticism to many of the random glimpses we obtain. Of the slender, needle-like spires, the oldest and most typical is perhaps that of antient Notre-Dame des Victoires (1688) at the original market-place in the lower town. This archaick fane, whose traditional setting has been well preserv'd, gives an exceedingly vivid idea of one phase of early French chapel architecture (*see sketch at left*). In urban Quebec one does not see relatively many of the tall and somewhat grotesque steeples—obviously of nineteenth century origin—so typical of the smaller French-Canadian villages. Distant village spires visible from Quebec and adding vastly to the loveliness of the landskip are those on the high Lévis cliffs across the river, that of Sillery, low down on a point near the shoar, as one looks up the St. Lawrence's north bank beyond Battlefield Park and Spen-



cerwood, and those of Limoilou on the distant northward plain across the St. Charles. Of the English churches, the Cathedral of 1804 is by far the finest—a splendid and commodious Georgian fane whose stately spire would be eminently in place in any New-England town. St. Andrew's Scottish Church (1824) has another very tasteful old steeple. Chalmer's Church, in St. Ursula off St. Louis, up the hill toward the Citadel, is of Victorian Gothick design; but is by no means offensive. The interiors of many of the churches are of famous magnificence; tho' the French specimens generally seem too ornate, gilt-bedeck'd, and highly colour'd to suit English taste. St. Matthew's Anglican Church at the corner of Rues St. Jean and St. Augustin is a Victorian replacement, but has a fascinating old English churchyard containing the graves of His Maj^{ty's} officers and executives, including the brother of Sir Walter Scott.

(2) Atmosphere and Topography.

Quebeck is a town which ought, if possible, to be seen at leisure, and in a gradual, rambling way; since its complex and manifold charm has a multiplicity of new subtleties to reward each new angle of observation. The general environmental keynote is one of antique loveliness, continuity, urbanity, and repose; with architectural grace join'd to a rural background whose influence is never absent. The rural setting is enhanc'd by the fact that the river and countryside are never remote from visibility. In the upper town there is no escaping the hinterland panorama, since every cliffward street ends in a broad vista of distant landskip. The sojourner in Quebec is never lacking in orientation, for at all times he has around him a familiar setting of green hills and cliffs, blue sky and river, and distant purple mountains. Northward the farm-and-village dotted fields always stretch off toward the mystical Laurentians, with the bristling roofs and steeples of St. Roch or the lower town as a foreground. And on the south there is always the mile-broad river, with Lévis' frowning cliffs and picturesque roofs on the horizon. Loitering about the archaick streets, we begin to absorb impressions which in time seem to us characteristic of Quebec. Clatter of horses' hooves—sweet bells from silver steeples—repose and courtesy—civilised, easy-going ways—symbols of His Maj^{ty's} glorious and unbroken rule in the form of flags, the royal arms on post boxes, red-painted mail-collecting gigs, government shops, and shops in general—signs of sacerdotal supremacy—saints' names for most of the streets—constant encounters with black-rob'd priests and monks, and children in the black uniforms of convent and other popish schools—horse-drawn vehicles—antient calèches and delivery-wagons—watering-troughs—frequent use of *boards* for sidewalks and esplanades—glimpses of walls and gates—old men of courtly grace in old-fashion'd tail-coats and standing collars—policemen in tall white helmets—young men wearing low-crown'd derby or bowler hats like those of Jew comedians—profusion of low-pric'd restaurants along Rue St. Jean within the walls—absence of cafeterias and "one-arm" lunches—bi-lingual official signs—

Prenez garde aux chars	ARRET DE	Gardez la droite Keep to the Right	NE STATIONNEZ PAS ICI
DANGER	TRAMWAYS		NO PARKING HERE
Look out for cars	STOP*		

—street-signs in French, but without word "Rue"—car signs which translate French street names—

*Us'd in place of familiar New-England "white pole".

spires and belfries—seas of curious chimney-pots splashed with reds, silvers, greys, browns, and yellows—tall individual steeples and peaked roofs and towers—patches of alluring verdure at unexpected points—dizzy depths below depths, where the cliff drops sheerly to the labyrinth of lower-town roofs and spires—and beyond all the rest the dreamlike background of outspread blue river and green steeple-dotted countryside; land blending into water in graceful points and curves, and the whole vista bounded by the cosmic uncertainties of the purple, ethereal Laurentians and the cloud-dotted vault of heaven. The only jarring note—and even this is a minor discord because of its redeemingly archaic roof—is the skyscraping Price Bldg., built in 1929; but with a little care we may find a spot where this is almost wholly conceal'd by the spire of Chalmers' Church, leaving the vista absolutely traditional, and exquisite beyond imagination. The cliff edge in general, at different points, is arbitrarily divided into different "hills"—the principal ones being Palace Hill, above Palace Gate on the north edge, St. Famille Hill, at the Sault au Matelot, on the east point of the cliff where Laval University stands, and Mountain Hill, just south of this, where the main old road from the lower town climbs. Inland hills include Mt. Carmel, just back of old Ft. St. Louis and the present Château Frontenac; and Citadel Hill, the slope upward from Rue St. Louis and the Grande Allée toward the peak of Cape Diamond. Access from the lower town (Basse Ville) to the upper town (Haute Ville) is obtainable at several points by means of steps and ingeniously sloped or winding roadways, of which those near the old fort (Mountain Hill Street and the Breakneck Steps which rise from the head of Little Champlain and Sous-le-Fort St.'s in the lower town to the great bend in the street about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the way to the top) and near the old Intendant's Palace (Palace Hill) are the most ancient. Other connecting roads are Côte Sauvageau, which connects the St. Sauveur district with the upper town; Côte d'Abraham, which performs a like office for St. Roch; Rue Cicoton, which links St. Roch to the St. John suburb just outside the walls at Glacis St.; next comes Palace Hill and Canoterie-Hill and Rue Dambourges, which connect the old lower town with the ramparts of St. Famille Hill at the site of the old Hope Gate, one sloping down northward toward Palace Gate, whilst the other, beginning about $\frac{3}{4}$ way up its mate, slopes in the opposite direction, and is supplemented by a flight of steps by which the pedestrian can cut off the detour down Canoterie Hill which vehicles must take in order to strike Rue Dambourges. Next comes Mountain Hill, which is the last upward roadway. Flights of steps can be found at Rue de la Couronne, (St. Roch) leading to the upper town; at the foot of St. Augustin St. (upper town) descending to a point on Rue St. Valier (St. Roch) near the street (Bridge St.) leading to the highway bridge (Dorchester Bridge) to Limoilou; at Mountain Hill, (Breakneck Steps); and around on the south shore where an interminable flight of rickety wooden steps leads up from the crumbling Champlain St. slum near the old Hibernian Club to a board walk on the plateau which stretches across the still wild cove fields to a point on Ave. Laurier in the St. Louis suburb. There are also approaches of a sort at Battlefields Park, and the old scene of Wolfe's perilous ascent. At various other parts of the town shorter flights of steps serve to accommodate the picturesquely irregular terrain to the needs of the pedestrian. There is a passenger elevator (fare, 6¢) which ascends from the head of Rues Petit-Champlain and Sous-le-Fort (foot of Breakneck Steps) to a point on Dufferin Terrace near the hotel Château Frontenac.

(C.) Modes of Observing Quebec

1. General Considerations

Upon landing on the Quebec Union Station, the stranger is urg'd to adopt a systematic plan of sightseeing at once; in order to master in the shortest possible time the salient aspects of this antient and complex town. Only when the visitor knows his way about, is he fully at ease to enjoy the various antiquities and savour them at leisure. The first step is a good map and guide-book, and this combination can fortunately be purchas'd at the news stand of the station itself for the modest sum of 35¢. It is

Carrel's Illustrated Guide and Map of Quebec

publish'd by the Chronicle-Telegraph Company.²⁹ A careful study of the map will do much to enlighten the traveller on how he may reach the various points of interest. He will see that the stupendous cliff ahead of him, with its heights of Cyclopean masonry, its bristling roofs and spires and towers, and its antient climbing ways, is the logical goal for his first steps—the seat of all the most desirable taverns, shops, and tourist starting places. Accordingly, guided by the map, he will plunge adventurously into the past up the archaic slope of narrow Rue Lacroix; continuing up Côte du Palais as it curves at the left of a sky-reaching fortress-rampart, and finally passing at the top, where an ancient tavern-statue of Gen^l WOLFE peers down from a venerable carven facade upon the leading business intersection. This is Rue St. Jean or St. John St., the seat of the principal shops and restaurants. The Victoria Hotel at this very corner is an excellent stopping-place, tho' more sumptuous accommodations can be had at the celebrated Château Frontenac whose peaked Norman tower can be seen beckoning farther ahead. On the left we see a broadening of Rue St. Jean, where it divides into other thoroughfares the most extensive right-hand bend being Rue Fabrique, a broad continuation of the shopping district represented by St. Jean. This is the way to the Château Frontenac and the old Place d'Armes—the tourist centre. To reach the Place and Château one follows Fabrique to its end in Basilica Place—where the facade of the old Popish Cathedral marks the antient upper-town market—and crosses the square to Rue Buade, which roughly continues the line of Fabrique. After a block or two in Buade, a right turn into Rue du Fort (or its predecessor) takes us toward the Place d'Armes—which we reach after traversing another block. Slightly uphill, across a quaint small park, we see the main facade of the great Château Frontenac; whilst all around us are tourist offices and sightseeing vehicles—ancient horse calèches, motor char-à-bancs, and the clever roofless tramcars of the local street railway.

It is advisable, however, to become fortify'd with more guidebooks before attempting the conquest of Quebec; hence the visitor who has just ascended Palace Hill to St. John St. may well look west along that thoroughfare—to the right. Here, largely on the north side, will be found the greatest profusion of moderate-pric'd restaurants; and here, too, after walking three squares, we come to antient St. John's Gate—or rather the site of it. This is a rather spacious open area, with an ineffably mystical and alluring vista on the left uphill where the great city wall rears for its southward stretch and the tapering silver spire of a church soars above the antient roofs of Rue d'Auteuil. On our right is the Y.M.C.A.; and after passing the wall and following the curve around the Auditorium Theatre we come upon a broader reach of Rue St. Jean—where it penetrates, still as a main street, the extra-mural St. John suburb. Here, downhill toward the northern cliff-edge on our right, we glimpse another silver spire in mystically allur-

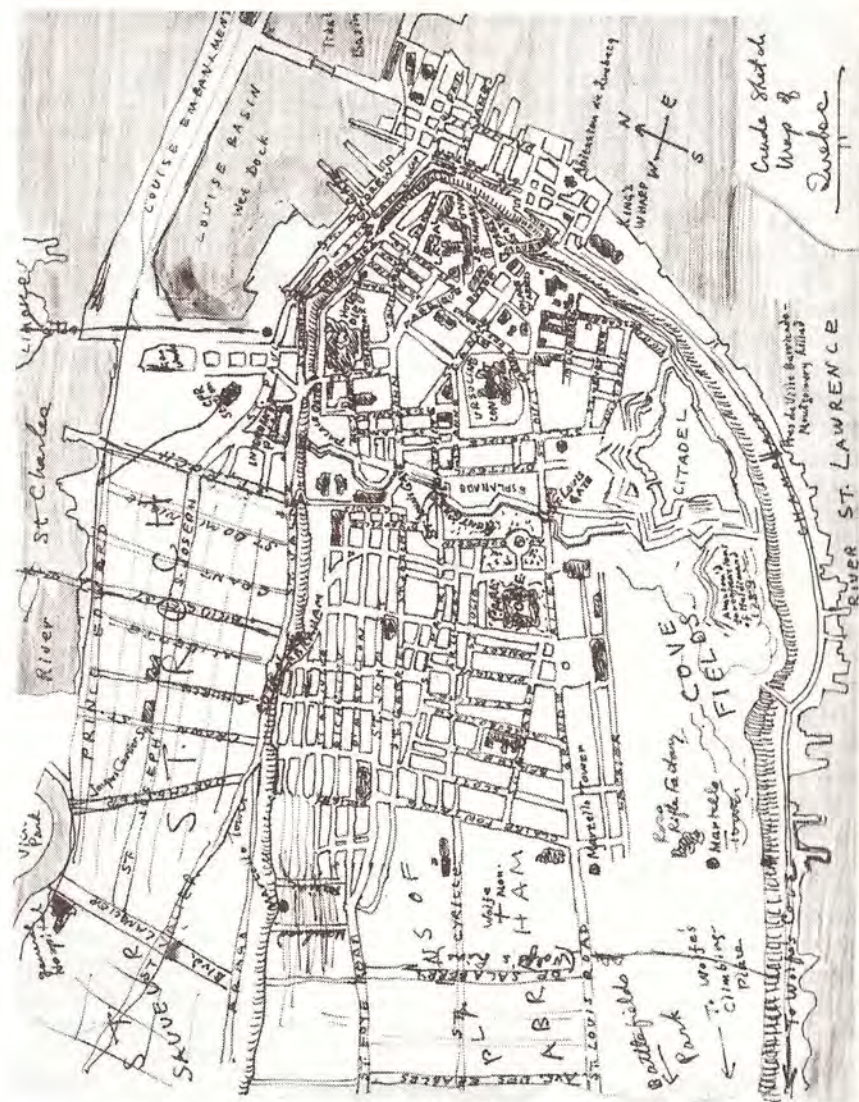
ing perspective—foretaste of sights to come. Proceeding along extramural St. John St., we soon encounter on our right the Woolworth and Kresge shops; where inexpensive souvenirs, pictures, and penny scenick postcards can be obtain'd in amazing variety. Among our purchases here shou'd be the fifteen-cent

*Souvenir Guide of Quebec in Colours,*³⁰

which has splendidly concise and available information, fine views, and a map of the most antient upper and lower town districts on a larger scale, and in more conveniently consultable form, than the folding map of the whole town in Carrel's Guide. It is well, for the sake of convenience and unduplicated information, to procure a third guidebook also; for which purpose we continue along Rue St. Jean (either on foot or by Ave. des Erables/Maple Avenue street car) past St. Matthew's old Anglican churchyard (beyond a low bank wall on the left at the corner of Rue St. Augustin) and the impressive silver-belfried church of St. Jean Baptiste (on our right at the corner of the Rue Deligny). Betwixt these two churches the uphill street vistas on our left are especially deserving of attention because of the age of the houses, the quaintness of the steep streets with their occasional steps in the sidewalk, and the general collocation of ancient roofs and topographical features. This group of streets—Côte Ste. Genevieve, Scott, Claire Fontaine, etc.—deserve a later detail'd exploration. The downhill streets on the right also merit attention; since the bristling roofs and steeples of St. Roch below the cliff-edge, and the background of distant countryside and ethereal mountains, form an exquisite and unforgettable picture. At length Rue St. Jean forms a junction with Rue d'Aiguillon, which has been running parallel a block to the north, and changes its name to St. Foye Road. At No. 890—on the left-hand side—is the Quebec Information Bureau, design'd for tourists, where for 25¢ our third desiderate guidebook—

Quebec, Canada, How to See It—

may be obtain'd.³¹ This has conveniently available statistics and information, useful maps, and a fine aerial view of the Place d'Armes section which will later assist in our orientation. This bureau will also give information concerning good inexpensive lodgings. If we wish to avoid a trip so far out of the city at the outset, we may previously order our guidebook by mail. The address of the Quebec Information Bureau is 890 St. Foye Rd., or P.O. Box 55, Quebec, P.Q., and its telephone number is 2-2655. If we are making our trip by motor, it is very convenient to approach Quebec past this bureau. The route from Montreal is naturally the St. Foye Road; whilst if we come from New-England over the great Quebec Bridge, we shall come thro' Sillery and the St. Louis Road, farther south—reaching the St. Foye Rd. by making a left turn thro' Ave. des Braves, or Belvedere Road, which emerges at the park and Monument aux Braves dedicated to the heroes of Chevalier de Lévis's attack in 1760. If we prefer—and especially if we have a car to be lodg'd—we may secure rooms at some of the many cheap but comfortable tourist lodgings along the St. Foye Rd., of which the Maple Leaf House at #105 (cor. Bougainville) is an excellent specimen. The only disadvantage of this is the pedestrian distance from town—tho' this is offset by street-car service from Ave. des Erables, (not far in from where most of the lodgings are) and by the fact that distance from town means all the greater nearness to Battlefields Park and Wolfe's Cove. The maps in the guide books will shew how walks of varying length to Wolfe's Cove, the Governor's estate of Spencerwood, and even picturesque Sillery can be arrang'd from an headquarters on the St. Foye Road.



It is now in order to perform one or more orientation-tours in order to grasp the general geography of the town, the relative distances from place to place, and the juxtaposition of the leading sights and landmarks, preparatory to a detail'd pedestrian exploration of the particular quarters which merit such. For this sort of preliminary touring, the standardised service of the various motor-coach sightseeing companies, and of the street-railway corporation, is strongly recommended as the cheapest and most comprehensive method. All the tours begin at the Place d'Armes—the coaches generally waiting on the lower or northern edge of the park whilst the roofless trolley-car waits higher up near the Champlain Monument and the end of Dufferin Terrace. The route of the various coach companies—Gray Line, Royal Blue Line, etc.—is identical, and the fare is \$1.00 for the city trip of 1½ hours. (Their folders should be study'd for information on their longer suburban tours to historick spots.) The trolley company runs its roofless sightseeing cars over virtually all the trackage in the city at a cost of 50¢ per trip of 1^h 45^m—with a special night sightseeing service (45 minute trip) at only 25¢. All cars and coaches have competent lecturers, so that this service gives one a valuable introduction to the central town as an objective reality. The stranger is advis'd to take *both* coach and trolley trips despite the identity of much of the route. The repetition will be usefully instructive, whilst the unique parts of each trip will be valuable from any standpoint. The coach traverses many interesting places devoid of tracks, whilst the trolley covers a considerably greater area. Parts of these routes, of course, will be cover'd again when detail'd pedestrian explorations are made; but many of the less antient and important sections—the modern wharves, the lower-town suburbs of St. Roch and St. Sauveur, and the western part of the upper town—will not necessarily demand such a return—hence the tourist is urg'd to pay close attention to the discourse of the coach and trolley lecturers in order to grasp what is being pass'd. Sightseeing on the run is always unsatisfactory except for orientation purposes; but it is better than nothing, and a valuable aid in acquiring general impressions of districts not worth studying more closely. The coach makes stops to permit tourists to see the interior of old Notre-Dame des Victoires and the Franciscan Sisters' Church in the Grand Allée, but the trolley—as a rail'd vehicle on ordinary routes of traffic—naturally cannot do this. For the visitor of ample means, no mode of sightseeing is so good as a trip in a hir'd calèche; great numbers of which antient vehicles can be seen waiting in the Place d'Armes, mostly on the side toward the Anglican churchyard. The drivers are generally old men very familiar with the subtle traditions and folkways of Quebec, and the individual nature of the service permits of digressions, reportionings, leisurely assimilations, and the like which no standardised service cou'd provide. Persons with a vehicle may obtain the services of an individual guide (a competent driver) to accompany them and point out places and objects of interest—these being furnish'd by the Quebec Information Bureau above mention'd, from which private motor vehicles for sightseeing may also be hired.

2. An Orientation-Tour of Quebec

It is well to note here the salient points touch'd in the average Quebec sightseeing tour. Starting from the Place d'Armes by way of Rue Ste. Anne, past the homelike Anglican Cathedral we turn to the right down the first intersection; (site of the house and store of the Company of One Hundred Associates) where (on our left after the turn) the garden of the great quasi-Victorian City Hall (site of old Jesuits' College) combines with Basilica Place just ahead to form a large open space. Basilica Place, where Rues Desjardins, (which we are traversing) Buade, St. Famille, and Fabrique converge, was the antient upper-town Market Place. On our left in the City Hall Garden is a vast

Monument to Louis Hébert the pioneer, and his family; the work of the French-Canadian sculptor Alfred Laliberté. In the middle of Basilica Place ahead (also call'd City Hall Square) is a circular park area, and here, placed asymmetrically, occurs a statue of Cardinal Taschereau, a late nineteenth century prelate who was Canada's first Cardinal. As we enter Basilica Place we turn a sharp corner to the right from Desjardins into Buade St., noting as we do so the great two-tower'd facade of the Basilica on the eastern side of the square, on our left. Beyond this, giving us a glimpse of the venerable edifice, is the entrance to the old Seminary. Proceeding along Buade for a double block (the same route that we travers'd in getting from the station to Place d'Armes), we come to the corner of Rue du Fort; where considerable space opens up, and we see the top of Mountain Hill—site of old Prescott Gate—ahead. Also in the vista is the great monument to Laval, first Bishop of Quebec, which stands in front of the not unhandsome domed Post Office looming on the farther right-hand corner. On the left there is an obtuse-angled turn behind the Basilica, which we take; seeing on our left the handsome palace of the Archbishop, and on our right the restful expanse of Montmorency Park with its statue of the nineteenth century statesman Georges-Etienne Cartier, where the older Bishop's Palace, later serving as a Parliament house, and the second Parliament House, us'd to be—and where still earlier the settlement graveyard was situate. Montmorency Park leads off to the battlemented edge of the cliff, and on its right we see the drop of Mountain Hill—the park edge being a bank wall. Looking back at the P.O., we see in the main facade, over the door, the famous Golden Dog sign taken from the Philibert store formerly occupying the site. Proceeding toward the cliff-edge at the left of Montmorency Park, we note the ancient cannon rang'd along the parapet. This is the Grand Battery, and marks the beginning of a line of fortification which extends all the way around the cliff-point till it descends at Palace Gate. On our left is the wall of the antient seminary, to which is now added Laval University. We shall explore this later in detail. The quaint steeple of the University building is a notable Quebec landmark. As we round the first corner of the Seminary wall we come close to the cliff-edge; viewing the distant river, countryside, and mountains, peering at the dizzying sea of tangled roofs and chimney-pots below, and noting the increas'd rusticity of our surroundings. Soon we turn sharply to the left at the Sault au Matelot, leaving the Seminary wall behind us. Next comes the descent of Canoterie-Hill—old Hope Gate—on our right, and we note the numerous embrasures in the cliff-edge parapet with old guns standing guard. We are now on the Ramparts, and the houses on our left were once among the most fashionable in Quebec. At #40, near the corner of the Rue Hamel, Montcalm once liv'd. The road now becomes a steep descent, and there appears on our left the high wall of the venerable Hôtel Dieu, which we shall later revisit. Soon we are at Palace Gate, on the higher level of the lower town at the foot of the cliff; and the Cyclopean height of the city wall topped by the antient Artillery Barracks (now the Dominion Arsenal, where munitions for the Canadian Army are made) looms up ahead on our left. This is the most impressive of all possible aspects of the artificial defences of Quebec. On our right, where two steep streets lead down to the neighbourhood of the Union Station, we see an old corner building with a newer one next it. This is Boswell's brewery, on the site of the famous Intendant's Palace, which we shall inspect later. We now make a precarious hairpin turn into Rue St. Charles, doubling back in general direction and skirting the lower edge of the cliff as we have been skirting the upper edge. This is the scene of Benedict Arnold's attack on the lower town, his severe knee-wound having occur'd here. Rue St. Charles meets Rue St. Paul at the foot of Canoterie-Hill; and we now turn into St. Paul, an wholesale thoroughfare of no great charm. As we pass

the foot of Rue Dambourges, a descent contributory to Canoterie-Hill, we see (on our right, of course) the entrance to a very narrow lane in the lee of the cliff which leads off from Dambourges to run onward parallel to our own course in Rue St. Paul, and separating us a trifle from the great beetling precipice from which the guns and embrasures of the Ramparts frown down. This is the celebrated Rue Sous-le-Cap, "narrowest street in Canada", and we shall study it later tho' the sightseeing vehicles do not commonly enter it. Soon we reach the point just below the Sault au Matelot, noting the turn of the cliff and the opening of the narrow Rue Sault au Matelot—which Arnold's men storm'd in 1775—on our right. In another moment we ourselves turn to the right into St. Peter St., which continues the trunk route along the base of the cliff. A short block brings us to St. James St.; where there is a considerable confluence of ways as Rue Sault au Matelot touches St. Peter on its parallel course, and as narrow Rue Sous-le-Cap finally ends its tortuous length by emptying into St. James. This is the scene of the invader's defeat and capture in 1775, and a bronze tablet on Molson's Bank commemorates the event. St. Peter St. is the financial section of Quebec, and here the U.S. Consulate may be found. At Rue des Soeurs we make a jog to the right into the narrow and picturesquely antient Rue Notre-Dame, which shortly spreads out into a small quiet square lined by ancient houses, having a circular grass plot and fountain in the centre, and bounded on the farther side by an old steep-roof'd chapel with graceful, needle-like spire. This is the original market place of the lower town, tho' long obsolete as such; and the church is the celebrated Notre-Dame des Victoires, built in 1688. The coaches stop here to permit tourists to visit the interior, which is well adorn'd and supply'd with works of art. We shall return to this spot in later explorations. Proceeding ahead, at the right of the church, we emerge from the square and turn to the right up narrow, picturesque Rue Sous-le-Fort, near which Champlain had his original 1608 Abitation. The cliff, here crown'd by the stately Château Frontenac and the beginning of Dufferin Terrace, looms up ahead with ineffable grandeur. As we reach the cliff itself and turn to skirt its bottom, we see on our right the foot of Breakneck Steps, which lead up to the former Prescott Gate near the top of Mountain Hill. Here Champlain had his original chapel of 1615, and here, according to some, he was buried. The old settlement spring was also here. The street into which we make a left turn to skirt the cliff-base is narrow, ancient Rue Petit-Champlain; which has no sidewalks, and which (but for its slum decay) would well represent a typical lower-town thoroughfare of the old French regime. The right-hand row of archaic houses is solid, and presses close against the cliff. On the left there are occasional gaps with short flights of steps leading down to a parallel street which runs near by at a slightly lower level. Mendicant children add to the Neapolitan picturesqueness of the scene. Finally we come out at what seems the end of the town—nothing but cliff rounding away on our right, and nothing but abandon'd wharfage and the river appearing on our left. We shall later learn that more does indeed exist around that deserted and mysterious cliff-bend, but for the present we double back over the slightly lower-level'd street which here rises to form a junction with Petit-Champlain. As we turn, we note the vast increase of height of the cliff ahead. This is Cape Diamond, from which the Citadel frowns down. Houses once existed at this point, but they were wip'd out by a landslide in 1889 which kill'd 66 persons. Farther around the bend is the site of Genl. Montgomery's death on Dec. 31, 1775, at Près-de-Ville barricade. Doubling back, we follow Champlain St., which is nearest the water. On our right the Marine and Fisheries building marks the site of the old King's Wharf and Louis XV's Royal Naval Shipyard of 1746. Here is the old British government storehouse of 1820, one of the few truly Georgian-design'd edifices in Quebec. To the left the omnipresent

cliff looms up, its sides somewhat cover'd with verdure—a sight of unparallel'd magnificence in its sweep from the lofty citadel behind us to the tower of the Château Frontenac ahead—with the antient roofs of the houses far below the rampart-line of Dufferin Terrace. Now and then we can see the gaps or alleys which lead up a few steps into Rue Petit-Champlain, and which we saw before from the other side. After a moment the buildings on our right cease, leaving only a railing between the street and the wharves. Ahead is a sharp right turn to the east which takes us out away from the cliff for two squares' distance. Then a left turn back to our original northward direction, and in a moment we are on that broad waterfront plaza forming the present public market—Champlain Market, whither the farmers bring their produce each Tuesday and Saturday. We are now on the main local waterfront from which the Lévis and Orleans ferries, and all the river steamers—for Montreal, Thousand Islands, and Toronto up stream, and the Saguenay down stream—leave. Later it will be well to cross to Lévis and view the Quebec skyline from there. This is the general region of Champlain's landing and site of his Abitation de Quebecq. Proceeding along Dalhousie St., we come at length to the classick Custom-House near the water's edge, but turn to the left into St. Andrew St. before getting a good front view of the pillar'd facade. On our right we now see the recent harbour developments—Louise Basin, the docks of the ocean liners, the Grain Elevator, and the immigration buildings. We shall not detour to visit the monument to Abraham Martin the Scotsman—first river pilot and owner of the land west of the town later call'd the "Plains of Abraham"—which stands on Louise Embankment beyond the Basin. We now draw landward again, taking a general westerly direction as St. Andrew joins Rue St. Paul and leads us past the familiar Norman roof'd Union Station. The station is on our right; whilst our left is the same stupendous panorama of climbing roofs, bristling towers and steeples, and Cyclopean city and arsenal wall which so impress'd us upon our first entry to the town. Also on the left is the hotel Château Champlain, on the site of the Intendant Talon's residence. Rue St. Paul is very broad and spacious here, and we follow it till it makes a slight left bend on crossing Rue St. Roch, after which it takes the name St. Joseph and becomes a busy shopping district. We have just enter'd the suburb of St. Roch, now a part of the city, which form'd the seat of Benedict Arnold's encampment of 1775. Old buildings are rare, except in certain parts, since this district has been repeatedly swept by prodigious fires. At Rue du Pont we see on our right the great Dorchester Bridge which takes all highway traffick to Limoilou, Beaufort, and the antient north shore generally. St. Joseph is St. Roch's main longitudinal business street, and contains some notable establishments—such as the Laliberté fur shop on our left, founded in 1867—to which the tourist lecturers call attention. St. Roch is not quite equal to the upper town in tone, and very little English is spoken in it. On our right, at the corner of Rue de l'Eglise, we see the enormous bulk of St. Roch church with its silver belfry; and in the next block on the same side we behold St. Roch Convent. We are now at the corner of Crown St., or Rue de la Couronne, which is St. Roch's main transverse business street. This intersection, known as Jacques-Cartier Square, contains the Hôtel St. Roch (right) and the Jacques-Cartier Monument (right). At this point some of the coaches turn directly up Rue de la Couronne to the left toward the cliff—thro' a shoemaking district—but others continue out St. Joseph to the broad Boulevard Langelier, which marks the boundary of St. Roch and the beginning of the St. Sauveur suburb, now a part of the city. This suburb was nam'd for the early cleric St. Sauveur. If we turn'd down the Boulevard to the St. Charles we would come upon the antient General Hospital, which we must later explore in detail; but unfortunately the coach turns southward, to the left in the direction of the cliff. The usual route here

is to turn again toward the left into Rue St. Valier (nam'd from the 2nd Bishop of Quebec), which takes a diagonal course toward the cliff. Or the Rue St. Colomb, with a subsequent jog, may be used. This is one of the few remaining antient sections of St. Roch—never prosperous, and now a picturesque slum. Some very quaint houses can be seen, and throngs of mendicant children are usually visible, pleading for “pennies” (the one English word they know) from the passengers of the sightseeing vehicles. St. Valier reaches the cliff at the head of Dorchester St.—nam'd for Gen^l Sir Guy Carleton, L^d Dorchester—whilst St. Colomb ends in Rue Belleau, which leads into Rue Arago; the latter the cliffside street west of Dorchester, where it forms a junction with St. Valier. If we were to alight and stroll down Dorchester as far as Rue St. Hélène, we would see in the latter—next the NE corner of Dorchester—an obviously old house which presents a puzzle in the strongly New-Englandish cast of its architecture. Marks on another building some distance along St. Hélène suggest that this was once one of three. It is a 1½ story gambrel-roofer of astonishingly Yankeeified type, like the now demolisht Peter Randall house in Providence; the roof lines being of distinctly Novanglian proportions, the doorway having fluted pilasters and a plain transom. Of its history no record seems to be available; but it is difficult to believe that it and its vanish'd fellows were not built by some New England immigrant in the years following the conquest of Canada by His Maj^{ty}'s arms. We shall not, of course, see this if we remain on the coach; but it is certainly worth a special visit (as long as it is permitted to stand) from every New England traveller.* The coach now approaches the head of Rue de la Couronne, where on our right a dizzy flight of steps scales the cliff to the St. John district on the plateau. In our vehicle, however, we ascend the gradual glacis known as Côte d'Abraham—recently enlarg'd—gaining the upper level near the foot of Rue St. Augustin. On the left there is considerable open space, and we glimpse the Patronage orphanage for boys, and the more distant silver belfry-steeple of the Sisters of Charity church. Now gaining St. John St. and turning westward—to the right—we see on the SW corner of St. Augustin the antient churchyard of St. Andrews, with the grave of Thomas Scott. This is the district which we have possibly traversed before, in seeking the Quebec Information Bureau; but it will pay us to glance again to the left for the quaint uphill street vistas, and to the right toward the cliff for glamorous glimpses of lower town, distant countryside, and hazy Laurentian Mountains. Of the left-hand uphill streets, Ste. Geneviève, Scott, and Claire Fontaine most merit inspection. Here we find houses of the abundant early XIX century French type, with gambrel roofs having a steep lower pitch and mark'd overhang. Passing the church of St. Jean Baptiste on the right we follow the increasingly unpicturesque St. John westward beyond the junction where it becomes the Ste. Foye Rd. If we now digress down Rues Racine or Marchand to the cliff-edge, we shall see one of the Martello Towers. At Rue de Salaberry our course passes the north end of Wolfe's battle-line of 1759. Beyond Ave. des Erables, on the left, we see the large edifice and extensive grounds of the wayside church—Notre-Dame des Chemins. This is a region of sacerdotal and charitable institutions, and we see many embower'd in spacious grounds amidst the quiet suburban atmosphere where pleasing maples line the way and prove the right of Canada to her national symbol. Here, also, are the roadside tourist lodgings previously mention'd. Some distance beyond Notre-Dame des Chemins, in what is still largely open country, we reach the scene of the Battle of Ste. Foye in 1760, when Chevalier de Lévis forc'd Gen^l Murray to retire behind the city walls. Here, on the right, is a small park containing the Monument aux Braves, a fluted Dorick column sur-

*This interesting edifice now (1933) demolished.

mounted by a statue of Bellona, created in 1860 to the memory of the combatants. If our course allows for a digression to the cliff-edge, we may thence obtain a marvellous panorama of St. Sauveur's bristling roofs and spires, of the distant church at the Huron village of Lorette, and of the always mystical line of ethereal Laurentians on the ultimate horizon. This is the western limit of our trip. The Ste. Foy Rd. continues 180 miles to Montreal, but we now turn south—to the left—into Belvedere Rd. or Ave. des Braves, traversing a recent real estate development and entering the St. Louis Rd., which leads westward to Sillery and the Quebec Bridge. Our first town is to the left—eastward—toward the city—but we presently make a right turn into Battlefields Park; a former race course which in 1908, at Quebec's tercentenary, was dedicated to the contending armies of 1759, and which contains several guns then captur'd from the French. This park forms the southern edge of the plateau just east of Wolfe's Cove and climbing-place; and is therefore on the route travers'd by Wolfe toward his final battle-line on the now built-over Plains of Abraham. The cliff-edge is form'd into a promenade and driveway with convenient parapets, known as Earl Gray Terrace (from the Gov. General at time of dedication), and from this place of vantage may be obtain'd some marvellous vistas. Looking westward—to the right as one faces outward toward the cliff-edge and river—we may see Wolfe's old-time point of ascent not far off, mark'd by a small round white house. In the same direction, embower'd in a spacious wooded park, we may descry the low, rambling white mansion of the Lieutenant Governor—Spencer Wood or Spencerwood—which bears a curious resemblance to a Virginia plantation-house. Farther away—on a point of land jutting out into the river and marking a lowering of the plateau level—we may see the lone, picturesque spire of Sillery Church silhouetted in tall grace against the water. Across the river rise the bold cliffs of Lévis, exact counterparts of those on which we are standing; and beyond them can be glimps'd the dim purple peaks of the Allegheny Range. Facing east toward the city, we see at the farther end of the park the stately column of the Wolfe monument, marking the spot where that hero fell, and the gleaming marble facade of the new museum—still incomplete. Just beyond the park limits are the district gaol—straight ahead—and the Quebec Observatory Tower, somewhat to the right. Proceeding onward, we pass to the right of the Wolfe Monument, and finally turn back into the St. Louis Road—which from this point to St. Louis Gate is called the Grande Allée, and forms the most fashionable residence street of the modern city. This broad, well-shaded avenue is, of course, roughly parallel with the more northerly arterial line of St. John St. and the Ste. Foy Road, and forms its counterpart as a trunk thoroughfare. As we proceed, we behold evidences of the slow conquest of modern Quebec by the apartment-house—tho' all the local specimens seem to make sound concessions to the old French architectural tradition. The vast Château St. Louis (left) is so far the largest apartment building in the city, but we shall shortly encounter another nearly as large. At Rue de Salaberry we cross Wolfe's old battle-line, seeing on the left St. Bridget's church—in the rear of which, on ground now occupy'd by St. Patrick's School and the Redemptorist Monastery, was the old cholera burying-ground. At about this point—or a little before—we can glimpse on our right the Quebec observatory tower; and presently, in the same direction, the Ross Rifle Factory, now a Canadian Ordnance Depot. Nearer than the factory, but at about the same point in our vista to the right, (encounter'd perhaps a trifle sooner) is one of the 1812 Martello Towers, which has a still-existing underground passage to the distant citadel. About opposite this tower—on our left at the corner of Rue Claire Fontaine—which form'd the approximate limit of Georgian or early XIX century Quebec—is the well-known chapel and convent of the Franciscan or White Sisters, whose custodians have

needlework and various ecclesiastical articles for sale. A stop is generally made here by the sightseeing coaches. Proceeding onward, we see on our left (cor. Scott St.) the new church of Saint-Coeur de Marie—one of many sacerdotal and charitable institutions in this neighbourhood. On the other side of the street is the spot where Montcalm was mortally wounded, and where we now behold a monument dedicated to him in 1911. Looking again to the left, we see the Grande Allée Apartments, second only to the Château St. Louis in size. The right-hand vista now opens out into a small square park recently nam'd Place George V in honour of His reigning Majesty, at the back of which extends the broad facade of the Drill Hall or Armouries. In this park is the monument to Short and Wallick, the soldiers who lost their lives bravely fighting the St. Sauveur fire of 1889. On the left there now appears the parklike square in which is set the great Parliament house of 1878. On the grounds before the street facade is a fine statue and monument to the eminent historian F. X. Garneau, author of the "*Histoire du Canada*"³² whilst a little farther along, in the landscaped space beyond this facade, is a monument to the nineteenth century statesman Mercier. The main facade of the building is that facing the city at right angles to the Grande Allée; and by looking back we can appreciate its tower'd stateliness as it looms above the parklike expanse separating it from the city wall. The view ahead is now alluringly picturesque, the turreted and parapeted arch of St. Louis Gate giving a massive mediaeval frame to the huddle of steep roofs and facades marking the older intramural town within. Just before we enter the old town we see on the right a grassy uphill slope next to the ancient wall. Here stands the white and graceful Cross of Sacrifice erected to the memory of Quebec soldiers who fell in the World War. Inside the walls we see on the right the uphill road to the citadel, with the fashionable Garrison Club on the farther corner. A little way up this road, on the side next the wall, is the old military storehouse where Montgomery, Cheeseman, and Macpherson were buried. On our left is the esplanade, once a parade-ground, with the Boer War monument not far from the street. Just beyond it the single row of ancient houses in Rue d'Auteuil, facing westward, slopes gently downward toward the north; the steep roofs, chimney-pots, and traditional French facades affording a picture of the most fancy-stirring sort. Along that row, as it begins to dip more steeply in the distance, the alluring silver spire of a church rises up to add a touch of ethereal unreality. We are now in Rue St. Louis—of which the Grande Allée is the extra-mural prolongation—which in old times was the fashionable residence street of Quebec. The neighbourhood is now genteelly decay'd—small retail shops and lodging-houses punctuating the residence more and more thickly as we approach the Place d'Armes. The houses are nearly all fine old French mansions; and most of them are still in excellent structural condition, so that a study of their details will amply repay the antiquarian. On our right, behind the steep roofs and chimney-pots, rises the spacious green slope toward the citadel; which beyond the Rue Ste. Ursule receives the name of Mont Carmel. At the NW corner of St. Louis and Ste. Ursule is the site of the old City Hall, and approximately of the house where Montgomery's body was taken. Looking up Ste. Ursule, we see the Gothick spire of Chalmers Church outlin'd against the green of the hillside. Advancing along St. Louis, we soon see on our right an old stone double house with broad flat chimney—#s 59 and 57. Half of this was, in the earlier eighteenth century, the home of Intendant Bigot's mistress Mme. de Péan, whilst the other half (#57) nearer the city, was the doctor's house where Montcalm dy'd. Buildings along this row are largely connected with the Canadian army. Just below this stone house, we find the Military Hospital. We now see, on the left-hand side, the opening of a short street leading to the ancient Ursuline Convent; which we shall later revisit, and where Montcalm's mortal remains are depos-

ited. Just beyond on the same side is the precipitously steep-roof'd old house—1674, the oldest in Quebec—where Montcalm had his headquarters. Across the street and ahead on our right is the old Lotbinières house, inhabited 1791–4 by H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria. This virtually brings us back to the Place d'Armes, and we see the elaborate Court House on the farther left-hand corner. On the right near corner is the imposing hotel Château Frontenac, on the site of the old Fort and Castle St. Louis, and of the Château Haldimand of 1784. Rounding the corner past the Château's main facade, we come to the Champlain Monument and beginning of Dufferin Terrace with its unequal'd view. Once more we are in the Place d'Armes, convenient as a centre from which to take more detail'd and observant pedestrian trips.

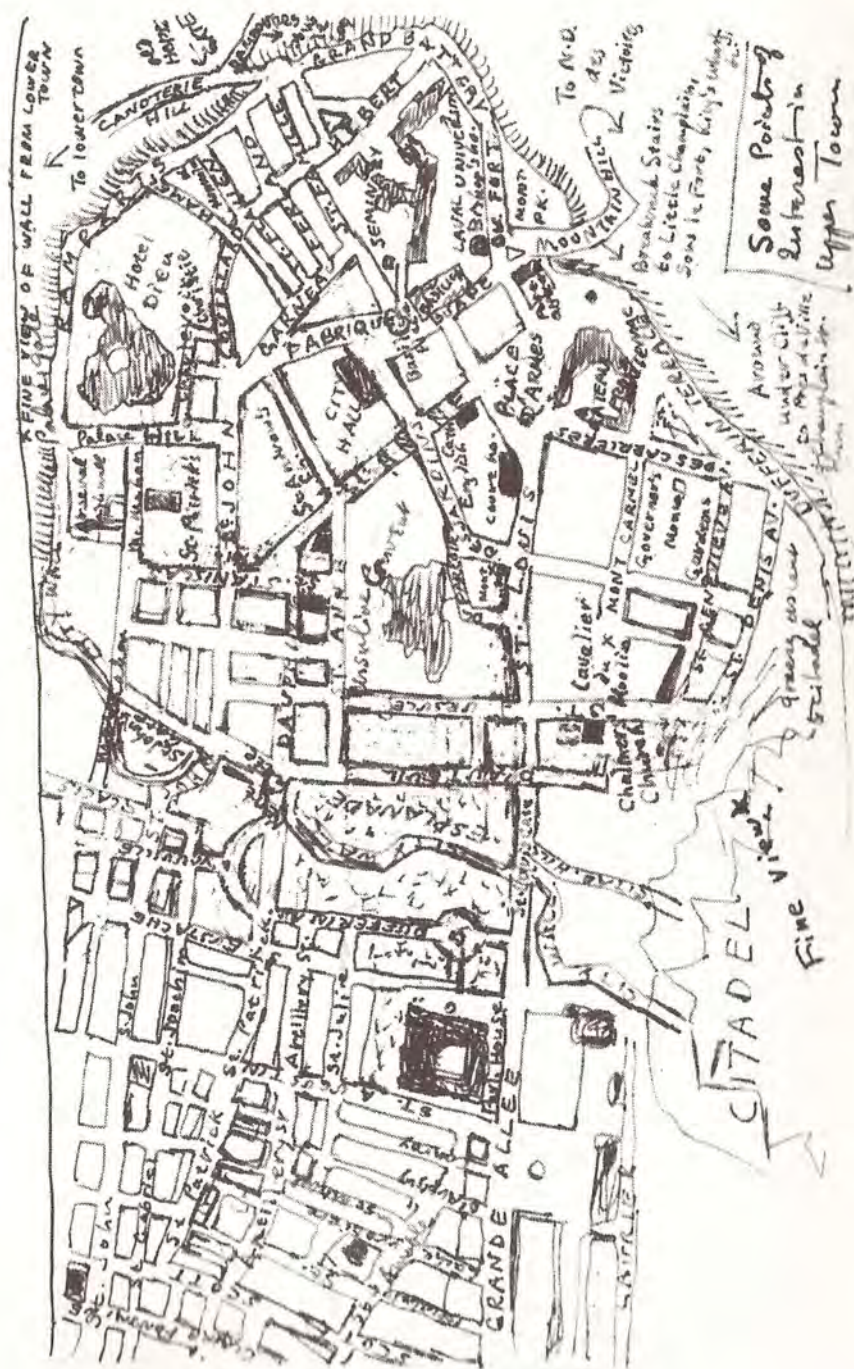
3. A Series of Pedestrian Explorations

The general fountain-head of sightseeing interest in Quebec is, unmistakably, the region of the old Fort and Place d'Armes—of the modern Château Frontenac and Dufferin Terrace—in the upper town. This being the centre of things in old French times, it has retain'd the greatest crowding of historick reliquiae; as well as possessing the finest vistas of the St. Lawrence, the Lévis cliffs, and the countryside as a whole. Near by are the Basilica and old Market Place, the antient houses of Rue St. Louis, the old Ursuline Convent, the Seminary, the head of Mountain Hill—a burying-ground from 1606 to 1687, and later the location of formidable Prescott Gate and the old Bishop's Palace which became a Parliament-House, (present Montmorcency Park) the English Cathedral, the Governor's Gardens with Wolfe and Montcalm monument, Mt. Carmel, and the steep grassy ascent to the all-crowning citadel. Over the sheer edges of the precipice bristle the gables and chimney-pots of the Lower Town, with the slim, needle-like spire of old Notre-Dame des Victoires standing out as a focus of attention. It will repay the visitor to cover this section very fully, using the Place d'Armes as the hub of a wheel whose spokes are brief tours of exploration.

The Place d'Armes

The Place d'Armes itself, an attractive square with a park in the centre having walks, trees, benches, and a central Monument to Faith (commemorating the first missionaries), slopes gently downward from south to north. Eastward there is an open sweep of vision toward the cliff and the river where the great Monument to Champlain (er. 1896) stands near the beginning of Dufferin Terrace. This square is the concourse of all sightseeing vehicles and enterprises—calèches, omnibuses, roofless trolley-cars, and the like; and often echoes to the shouts of rival tour-conductors. It was antiently a scene of battles with the encroaching Iroquois—before the building of the city walls—and subsequently form'd the camping-place of the remnant of the Hurons after the annihilation of their nation and before their settlement at Lorette. Still later it was a military parade-ground and promenade of fashionables under the French governors—being then known as the Grande Place. Here the French finally surrender'd their arms to Murray in 1759. On the higher or southern side, at the beginning of Rue St. Louis and marking the site of the old fort and Château St. Louis of Champlain (1620) and Montmagny (1647), (burn'd 1834) and of the 1784 Château Haldimand, stands the massive and imposing hotel of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Château Frontenac. This vast and rambling pile, with an old-fashion'd central courtyard having archways on Rues St. Louis (Place d'Armes also) and Mont Carmel, was begun in 1892, later added to, and restor'd after a disastrous fire in 1926. Its great Norman tower with corner turrets is a landmark visible from all over

the city, and still dominates the skyline despite the erection of the Price Bldg. Despite its Victorian date this structure has real beauty, and succeeds in giving a suggestion of the glamorous seventeenth century. On the archway fronting Rue St. Louis and the Place d'Armes is a keystone bearing a Maltese Cross and the date 1647. This is thought to have been prepar'd by Gov' Montmagny, who was a Knight of Malta, for a priory of that order in Quebec, which for some reason was never built. Betwixt the Château and the river is the beginning of Dufferin Terrace, a broad wooden promenade on the cliff-edge which extends for 1500 feet toward the Citadel and connects with a walk taking the pedestrian completely around Cape Diamond to the Cove Fields. The average width is 60 feet, and at intervals along the edge are kiosks or pavilions where band concerts are sometimes held. The terrace is suitably rail'd, and benches are placed for those who wish to enjoy the magnificent view of the river, the Lévis cliffs, and the Isle of Orleans—perhaps the finest view in North-America save that obtainable from the still greater height of adjacent Citadel Hill. It is a fashionable promenade for residents and visitors alike, and is of course clos'd to vehicles. Seen from below, its foundations are tremendously impressive. 160 feet of this terrace were constructed by L^d Durham during his regime, the original name being Durham Terrace. In 1854 it was prolong'd to 276 feet; and in 1879, under the auspices of L^d Dufferin, it was extended to its present length and receiv'd its present name. The beginning—where the great Champlain Monument now rises close to the Château Frontenac—is built over the foundations of part of the ancient Château St. Louis, where that formidable and historic edifice beetled over the sheer 200-foot precipice. On the north or lower side of the Place d'Armes—across the park and opposite the Château Frontenac—still stands the steep-roof'd Union Bldg. (#12 Rue St. Anne) erected in 1805 on the site of the old Govr. d'Ailleboust's residence of 1649. Here, as previously mention'd, the Barons' Club held its festivities in the years following 1808; and here too the Parliament of Lower-Canada for a time had government offices. In this building defensive measures against the invaders of 1812 were plann'd. On the west side of the Place d'Armes, where Rue St. Anne leads out of it, we behold the rear of the Anglican Cathedral built in 1804 and forming a homelike touch of English Georgian amidst this predominantly Gallick environment. The site of this fane, and of the ancient Court House, was in 1650 occupy'd by the Court of La Senéchausée, and in 1683 was purchas'd by Mgr. de St. Valier, second Popish Bishop of Quebec, as a site for a new Récollet Monastery, since he wish'd to use the old one on the St. Charles River as a General Hospital to be conducted by nuns from the Hôtel Dieu. The new Récollet Friar's Convent and Church were finish'd in 1693; and tho' technically confiscated (along with other popish property) by His Britannick Majesty's Government upon the acquisition of New-France, were not in fact taken from the monastick tenants. Upon the establishment of an Anglican Bishoprick in Quebec under the Rev^d Jacob Mountain in 1793, the Récollets permitted its services to be held in their church; and when in 1796 both convent and church burn'd down, His Maj^{ty's} government decided to utilise the area. A court-house (burn'd in 1873 and replac'd by the present one) was built upon the more southerly half, adjoining Rue St. Louis, in 1800; whilst upon the northerly half adjoining Rue St. Anne the present splendid Ionick edifice was rais'd in 1804. In the north gallery of this church is the Governor's Pew, where have worshipp'd not only the various representatives of His Majesty, but many members of the Royal Family itself. There are several reliques of notable interest, including the ancient colours of His Maj^{ty's} 69th Regiment, which for a time garrison'd Quebec. Adjoining the churchyard and occupying the corner of Rue St. Louis just across from the Château Frontenac is the Supreme Court House or Palais de Justice, a Victorian relique which is perhaps not as bad as contemporary structures in the U.S.



Mount Carmel and Rue St. Louis

Having completed a survey of the Place d'Armes, we may well undertake our excursions therefrom, starting with the inland region behind the Château Frontenac represented by the slope toward the citadel and the length of Rue St. Louis. Rounding to the rear or southern side of the Château, we see Rue Mont Carmel ascending an incline away from Dufferin Terrace, and having as its first intersecting street the Rue des Carrières, which runs beside the Terrace at a higher level, separated from it by a bank wall. Extending back from des Carrières and running beside Mont Carmel on our left is the pleasing old park known as the Governor's Gardens, toward the front of which stands the granite obelisk erected in 1828 (repair'd 1871) to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. "Mortem virtus communem, famam historia, monumentum posteritas, dedit." As we proceed past the Governor's Gardens, we find the aspect of Rue Mont Carmel growing more and more rustick; till finally the houses on our right end and give place to a bank wall and declivity, within which are the remains of an old stone redoubt. Ahead, a gate bars our way, but reveals alluring semi-rusticity beyond. A tablet informs us that this is the site of Le Cavalier du Moulin—the stone mill whence Phips was bombarded in 1690. This region—Mount Carmel—is one of the loveliest in all Quebec, with fragrant and graceful lilacs, and picturesque vines and greenery draping the antique ruins. It was once, according to tradition, an Indian cemetery. We now return to Rue des Carrières and walk along it past the front of the Governor's Gardens, continuing to the last street which ascends the slope before the steeper rise to the Citadel on the south ends the urban section. This final street—Ave. St. Denis—has some of the finest old French houses in Quebec—as indeed has Ave. Ste. Geneviève which precedes it and bounds the Governor's Gardens on the south. Ascending either Ste. Geneviève or St. Denis, we emerge on the southern end of Rue Ste. Ursule, into which we make a right-hand turn. As we pass northward—downhill again and away from the citadel—we have on our left the modern but not unpleasing facade and steeple of Chalmers' Church. Soon we emerge upon Rue St. Louis, once the most fashionable of all Quebec residence streets, and still containing traces of departed grandeur in buildings long since given over to light commerce and shabby-genteel lodgings. Many of the old French mansions along this thoroughfare are fine architectural specimens, and deserve the most careful study of the antiquarian; though their condition does not average so good as that of the houses in St. Denis and Ste. Geneviève. At the intersection of St. Ursule where we emerge, the old City Hall once stood on the NW corner, close by the house of the cooper Gaubert, to which the body of Genl. Montgomery was taken on the morning after his death. This house was demolish'd only in recent times, to make way for a more pretentious residence—for Rue St. Louis here emerges from its decay'd phase and prepares for its aristocratic status as the Grande Allée beyond St. Louis Gate. Turning to the left into St. Louis and proceeding westward toward the gate, we come upon the Esplanade—a former parade-ground just within the walls on our right, now a public park. Here stands the monument to Quebec soldiers who fell in the Boer War. Ahead looms the stately St. Louis Gate with its tower, turret, and steps; on either side of which the great turf embankment of the city wall stretches away and bends into angled bastions. On our left Citadel Hill climbs southward to the main or Dalhousie Gate of the Citadel—now permanently tenanted by the 22nd Canadian Regiment—where, if we have the time, we can secure permission to explore the great fortress under guidance; beholding the various bastions and buildings, gates, vaults, cells, and underground passages, and such reliques as a cannon captur'd from the re-

bels in 1775 at Bunker Hill, and another taken from Montgomery's invading force. The S.E. corner of Citadel Hill and Rue St. Louis contains the tasteful edifice of the Garrison Club, Quebec's most exclusive social organisation. Just above this, on the other side of the roadway next the wall, is the old military storehouse which in 1776 was a military prison—and in whose yard the bodies of Montgomery, Cheeseman, and Macpherson were interr'd. Cheeseman and Macpherson still rest there after exhumation and reinterment, and a bronze tablet marks the spot. Just beyond the St. Louis Gate, on the north side of the Grande Allée, (prolongation of Rue St. Louis) stands the great Parliament House of 1878; an imposing Victorian pile whose main facade fronts the ancient wall, from which it is separated by a well-landscaped park expanse. If we wish to inspect this, now is the time. The building, with interior court, forms a perfect square with facades of 300 feet; 4 stories tall, with mansards and towers at each corner. The main tower on the front or cityward facade is the crowning feature, and affords an unrivall'd view. Before the main entrance is a bronze Indian group by the Canadian sculptor Hébert (descendant of the pioneer), whilst in niches on the facade are heroic statues of the great men of Canadian history—Frs. Bréboeuf and Viel, martyr missionaries; La Vérendrye, the explorer; Intendant Talon; Gov. Boucher; Count Frontenac; WOLFE; Montcalm and Lévis; De Salaberry; Lord Elgin; Sir H. Lafontaine; Baldwin; Guy Carleton, L^d Dorchester, etc. etc. On the grounds are monuments to the historian Garneau (situate before the Grande Allée facade) and the statesman Mercier (on the front plot at the corner of the Grande Allée). Across the Grande Allée just west of the Parliament house is Place George V, an open area at the rear of which is the local drill hall or Armouries, and in whose centre is the Short-Wallick monument, dedicated to the two soldiers who lost their lives whilst bravely fighting a fire in St. Sauveur in 1889. Behind the Drill Hall are the Cove Fields, and by looking far to the right we may glimpse one of the Martello Towers. Saving more westward objects for a separate excursion, we now return to St. Louis Gate; noting the Cross of Sacrifice just outside the wall uphill on the right—dedicated to the Quebec soldiers who fell in the World War. Passing inside the walls thro' the small right-hand sidewalk and under the gate tower, and proceeding along Rue St. Louis, we retrace our former course to Rue Ste. Ursule—after crossing which we reach territory not travers'd before. Here we keep watch on the right-hand side for historic buildings. Many of the structures here—including the military hospital—are connected with the Canadian army. One of the buildings—the old Union Club—was the place of confinement of U.S. prisoners taken at Detroit in the War of 1812. Behind them rises the green and lovely slope of Mt. Carmel, much the same now as in the old days. At Nos. 59 and 57 we find an ancient double house of stone, of two and a half stories with broad, thin, gable-end chimneys and a long row of dormers. Both halves of this house—despite some ambiguities of identification—seem to be historically connected; for #59 was the abode of Intendant Bigot's mistress Mme. de Péan, whilst #57 was the home of Dr. Arnoux the younger, garrison surgeon for the French army at the time of Wolfe's siege—and the place where the illustrious Montcalm breath'd his last. After 1759 both halves were us'd as quarters for His Maj^y's officers.

We now see, across the street on our left, the beginning of short, bending Rue du Parloir; which, before its termination in Rue Desjardins, leads to the entrance of the fam'd old Ursuline Convent, from whose *parlour* it was nam'd. This celebrated institution deserves a visit from us; hence we shall digress in order to pay it. The street bends toward the right, and the convent entrance is plainly discernible. The grounds are enormous, extending back to Rue Ste. Ursule and across to Rue Ste. Anne; and the wings of the rambling, composite stone building are all steep-roof'd, double-dormer'd

affairs of the antient French pattern. On the chapel is a pleasing belfry of the old traditional sort. The Ursuline nuns, headed by the Venerable Mother Marie de l'Incarnation and accompany'd by their patroness Mme. de la Peltrie, arriv'd in Quebec in 1639 and stopt provisionally at the house of Noël Juchereau in the lower-town Market-Place (present square in front of N. D. des Victoires). Later they were transferr'd to Sillery, and finally, in 1641, to their present location. The first monastery was burnt in 1650, and rebuilt. The present one, burnt in 1685, was rebuilt in 1687 and enlarg'd three times during the present century (1900–12–15). The first chapel, on land presented by the Co. of 100 Associates, (also formerly containing the house built for Mme. de la Peltrie in 1644 and occupy'd 1650–61 by Bishop Laval—replaced by a school bldg.) was built in 1656 and burnt in 1686. The second chapel was built in 1720, and enlarg'd in 1901. Very fortunately, the additions have sustain'd the spirit of the original—instead of taking tawdry and inharmonious forms as in the case of the Hôtel Dieu. This convent is fam'd as a seat of education for the daughters of Catholic gentlemen, both of Canada and of the United-States. The founder, Mother de l'Incarnation, who lyes entomb'd in the cloister, was a woman of great sagacity and ability; often consulted by the governing authorities, and a truly prominent factor in the early development of New-France. In 1759 the illustrious Montcalm was here interr'd by the sisters—one of whom, Esther Wheelwright, was curiously enough of the race and nation of his conquerors; a Wheelwright of the old New England line, great-granddaughter of that Rev^d John Wheelwright who founded Exeter, in His Maj^{ty's} Province of New-Hampshire, in 1638. She had been stolen from the frontier post of Wells, in Maine, in 1703, at the age of seven; her French and Indian captors taking her to Quebec as was so often the custom with prisoners.* Here she was adopted by the French Governor and converted to the Popish faith; finally becoming an Ursuline nun.[†] At the time of Montcalm's burial, some of her very close kinsfolk were amongst the conquering legions of WOLFE; tho' both she and they were insensible of the circumstance. Later on this gentlewoman rose to be Mother Superior of the Convent—the only English person ever to hold that important distinction. She dy'd in the year 1780, aetat 84. In the winter following the taking of Quebec, this convent form'd the barracks of Fraser's Highlanders; and official measures of importance were here transacted. In 1783 the body of Montcalm was brought to light during repairs to a wall; being reinterr'd all but the skull, which has since been preserv'd in a glass case and is exhibited to visitors. In the convent are many ecclesiastical reliques—a suppos'd skeleton of St. Clements, brought from the Roman catacombs in 1687; the reputed skull of one of St. Ursula's companions, brought in 1675; the alleg'd skull of St. Justus, brought in 1662; one of the numberless pieces of the singularly extensive and durable True Cross, brought in 1667; and a choice portion of the Crown of Thorns brought from Paris in 1830. The convent likewise has a library of 12,000 volumes, and a plenitude of ecclesiastical paintings of great merit. There are many important memorials, and a votive lamp which has been lighted since 1717. Returning to Rue St. Louis as we came, we continue toward the city another square. There—at #32½—on the nearer left-hand corner of the down-sloping Rue Desjardins, we behold the ancient "lightning

*Her father, learning of her fate, left her £100 in his will, to be given her if she return'd to New England—which she never did.

[†]In 1754 she was (by special permission of the Bishop) visited by her nephew, Maj. Nath. Wheelwright, who gave her a miniature of her mother, Mary (still at the convent), and gave the convent some fine linen and a silver flagon, knife, fork, and spoon.

splitter" where Montcalm had his headquarters, and which is by good authorities consider'd the oldest house in Quebec, having a date of 1674. This edifice—now housing the Hwaiking Oriental Shops—is worthy of careful study, as affording a clue to the general aspect of the Quebec of the Frontenac period. Its rambling juncture with its neighbours on both streets is highly picturesque. On the other or right-hand side of Rue St. Louis, somewhat nearer to Place d'Armes—at #23—we now behold the Chartier de Lotbinière house, inhabited from 1791 to 1794 by H. R. H. the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, who was in Canada as Commander of the 7th Royal Fusiliers. This was his town house—his country-seat having been, as we have seen, the former mansion of Gen^l Haldimand at the falls of the Montmorency. The edifice, which stands a little back from the sidewalk-line, is now commercially us'd; and has been rais'd a story since His Royal Highness's time. We now take a few more steps into the Place d'Armes beside the Château Frontenac, and are ready for explorations in another direction. This time we shall take a long ramble thro' many connexion sections, including the antient lower town.

Mountain Hill

Next we proceed northward, out of the lower end of the Place d'Armes, along Rue du Fort, to where the way opens out at the top of Mountain Hill, and the end of the domed Renaissance Post Office rises up on our right. Turning the right hand corner into Buade St., we have on our right the main facade of the P.O., and on our left the great Laval Monument—beyond which, across Mountain Hill, the restful expanse of Montmorency Pk., with the monument to the statesman Georges-Etienne Cartier, stretches off to the battlemented cliff-edge. This is the site of old Prescott Gate—or rather, that site is somewhat below—just before Breakneck Steps leave Mountain Hill. From the end of Buade St.—at the far corner of the P.O.—a flight of steps descends to Mt. Hill to cut off a long corner around the Laval Monument. Looking backward toward the left beyond the Laval Monument, we see, facing the top of Mt. Hill, the tasteful palace of the Archbishop and the beginning of the Seminary wall. Ahead, Mountain Hill slopes down and turns a gentle corner to the left, preparatory to turning another very sharp leftward corner as it performs its swerve to the north—finally to strike the lower-town level at the joint heads of Rues des Soeurs and Notre-Dame, where the old Quebec Gazette was printed in the eighteenth century. This is the main artery betwixt upper and lower towns in their oldest parts. At the middle stretch betwixt the gentle and the sharp turns, the top of Breakneck Steps, leading to the joint heads of Rues Sous-le-Fort and Petit-ChAMPLAIN, opens narrowly on the right. To the left of Mt. Hill Montmorency Park extends—its stone retaining wall growing higher and higher as the hill accelerates its drop. This park marks the site of the first graveyard (1608–1687) of the old palace of Archbishop de St. Valier, used as a Parliament-House from 1791 to its burning in 1854, and of the second dom'd Parliament House built in 1859 and burnt in 1883. The P.O.* is on the site of the old Philibert store built in 1735, (as shewn by a cornerstone found when the edifice was demolish'd) and has set in its major facade the famous gilded store sign—the Chien d'Or or Golden Dog, which the proprietor plac'd on the old building to signify his resentful feelings toward the rapacious Intendant Bigot and his cheating monopoly La Friponne. (See sheet X.1.) A study of this old sign—whose story Kirby has told in the novel "The Golden

*The main fort of the Hurons, who camp'd around the Place d'Armes in 1658, was about here.

"Dog"—will amply repay us. At a later date the old house was kept by the British ex-soldier Miles Prentice as the Masonick Hall Sun. Now crossing to Montmorency Park, we note the warlike parapets and old cannon at the cliff-edge. This is the beginning of the Grand Battery, which extends around the top of the cliff for an ample distance. At the end of Mont. Pk. is a modern platform with benches where we may sit at the forty'd cliff-edge and enjoy the magnificent view of river, lower town, and distant countryside and mountains. On our left the Seminary and University wall approaches the cliff and turns a corner to run parallel to it. If we now follow the gentle declivity of the Grand Battery and wall around the tip of St. Famille Hill past the Sault au Matelot—above the spot where Arnold's troops were repuls'd in 1775—we shall soon come upon the Ramparts, at the site of Hope Gate where Canoterie Hill and Rue Dambourges descend to the lower town; where, too, Montcalm once dwelt. Streets leading inland from these Ramparts strike an exceedingly quaint and ancient district; which is also conveniently approachable from the main business junction at the tip of Palace Hill, where Rue St. Jean forks into wide Fabrique St. (extending to the right uphill to the Basilica and forming a continuation of the high-class business section) and narrow Rue Couillard, that curves along to the left into picturesque antiquity. This district deserves the most minute study from the artist and the antiquarian, for it is the best surviving example of an old French neighbourhood, with the houses still unalter'd and in such quantity as to give each one its perfect original setting and environmental atmosphere. Perhaps the best way to approach this ancient quarter is through either end of its central trunk artery—Rue Couillard winding mysteriously eastward from the end of St. John St., or Rue Hébert penetrating inland beside the Seminary wall from the Grand Battery at Sault au Matelot. Rues Couillard and Hébert are sections of the same thoroughfare, such changes of name being common in all old towns of Europe and America, tho' nowhere else surviving to such an extent as in Quebec. To see this quarter at its best, one must walk slowly along Rue Couillard-Hébert, glancing up and down every cross street in both directions, and occasionally exploring one of them. The cream of this district is along the Couillard section of the thoroughfare, where the cross streets lead upward (on the right if we proceed eastward from St. Jean, as is perhaps preferable from the standpoint of dramatick unfolding) to Rue Garneau, and downward to the Ramparts, with the vista ending in the remote blue of the harbour, with its warehouses and shipping. These streets, in order from the end of St. Jean along Couillard, are Christie, Hamel, St. Flavien, Ferland, St. Famille, and St. Monique. St. Famille is the last which ascends to Rue Garneau, and it is well to follow this up to the latter, so that one may return to St. Jean along Garneau, looking down along all the streets to the right (Seminary wall on left) in order to see them in a fresh perspective. Garneau itself is exceedingly quaint. This neighbourhood was once very fine, the eminent French-Canadian historian F. X. Garneau having lived and dy'd at 14 Rue St. Flavien, which is mark'd by a tablet. At 22 Rue Ferland the first French newspaper in Quebec was publish'd—*Le Canadien*, 1806—the office being raided by the troops of Lt. Gov. Craig because of its political policy. The Ramparts, at the foot of these streets, form'd a very fashionable place of residence in the eighteenth century; Montcalm having liv'd at No. 40 (at foot of Hamel), where a tablet marks his house. Houses hereabouts are of the dominant eighteenth century French type, with half-opening blinds, tall doors, casement windows, chimney-pots, and all the accustom'd attributes in untainted form. The streets are still neat and well kept, tho' the neighbourhood has declined to a region in which hotels and rented rooms are frequent. This is, in general, the seat of the residences of the pioneer Louis Hébert and his son-in-law Guillaume Couillard, at

street-names indicate. The house of Couillard form'd the first house of the Seminary, and stood in the grounds of the latter. Tho' this region is neglected by guidebooks, it is not unknown to artists of taste and discrimination; many of whom can sometimes be found sketching in the streets.

The Old Lower Town

The antient lower town which fringes the bottom of the cliff from Palace Gate on the north, around the Sault au Matelot to King's Wharf, beneath Fort St. Louis (Château Frontenac) on the south, is worthy of long and careful exploration. One may conveniently descend from the Ramparts (foot of Rue St. Famille) by means of Rue Dambourges, cutting down the steps from Canoterie Hill in order to save distance. The lower level thus gain'd is built up with old houses—the same, in many cases, that Benedict Arnold's men saw in 1775—and beneath some of these are the vaults of still more antient commercial buildings. Rue St. Paul, a wholesale mercantile street which curves from the foot of Palace Hill to follow the turn of the cliff, was the seat of the rapacious Bigot's stores—La Friponne—and is the chief lower-town thoroughfare from the north until the eastward point of the cliff is reach'd. It then digresses into a wharf, and gives place to the southward intersecting Rue St. Pierre or St. Peter St. (French and English street names seem to be us'd quite indifferently throughout Quebec) as



the dominant trunk-line prolongation. St. Peter St. is a financial thoroughfare, and is especially rich in English banking firms. Though St. Paul and St. Peter Sts. roughly follow the foot of the cliff, they are not actually the closest streets to it; there being another line of narrow streets or alleys directly under the damp stone precipice. The first which we encounter in descending Rue Dambourges is the famous Rue Sous-le-Cap, widely advertis'd in guidebooks as the "narrowest street in Canada". This opens to the right, off Rue Dambourges just before St. Paul is reach'd; and is a slum of mark'd squalor, tho' it was once a commercial street of standing. With the houses of its inner side press'd close against the rough stone of the cliff—which occasionally shews its moss-crusted surface betwixt and high above them—this narrow and tortuous lane is always in a damp, sinister twilight; a condition intensify'd by the custom of building houses across the street from upper story to upper story, which makes the sidewalkless board highway a virtual tunnel. Some of the decrepit and malodorous houses of Sous-le-Cap have rickety wooden outside staircases by which second and even third stories are reach'd; these sometimes leading to the overhead bridges across the roadway. In width, Sous-le-Cap is barely large enough to admit one vehicle. The width is variable, owing to irregular building lines and occasionally projecting steps; but in no place could two ordinary vehicles pass. After two sharp bends corresponding to the eastern tip of the abutting cliff, Sous-le-Cap makes a right-angled left turn at the Sault au Matelot and comes out at the point where Arnold's troops were repuls'd in 1775—the place where narrow Rue Sault au Matelot and broader Rue St. Pierre run parallel and nearly contiguously, (parallel to the cliff, and to the last lap of Sous-le-Cap before the right-angle turn) and are intersected at right angles by the Rue St. James (which latter prolongs the line of Sous-le-Cap's final outlet). At this general concourse of ways a bronze tablet on a building (Molson's Bank, cor. St Peter and St. James) marks the repulse of the invader. God Save the King! We may now proceed down Rue Sault au Matelot, which from this point onward replaces Sous-le-Cap as the closest under-cliff street. It is antient throughout its length, and affords an interesting study for the antiquarian. At Rue des Soeurs we strike the foot of Mountain Hill, which bends upward to the upper town around the bank wall of Montmorency Park and past the site of Prescott Gate. Here, in one of the old houses against the cliff, the antient Quebec Gazette was publish'd. Beyond Rue des Soeurs the line of Rue Sault-au-Matelot is roughly (with a jog to the right) continu'd by Rue Notre-Dame, which leads to the ancient lower-town market place (no longer such) where in 1639 the newly-arriv'd Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu nuns, with the Venerable Mother Marie de l'Incarnation and with their patroness Mme. de la Peltrie, lodg'd at the house of Noël Juchereau des Chatelets, a relative of the first seigniors of Beauport, and where in 1688 the stone Chapel of L'Enfant Jésus (now Notre-Dame des Victoires) was built. Here, also, Intendant de Champigny erected a bronze statue of Louis XI. The church, renam'd Notre-Dame de la Victoire in 1690 after Phips' defeat, and N. D. des Victoires after the wreck of Sir Hovenden Walker's fleet in 1711, is still (after several restorations) in fine condition, with steep roof and needle-like spire; and is well worth an interior inspection. It contains some celebrated works of ecclesiastical art, including a painting of the crucifixion supposedly by Rubens, and one of St. Geneviève attributed to Van Loo. The houses around the former Market Place are mostly antient ones, and in the centre, facing the church, is a grassy mound bearing a bronze bust of Louis XIV. Behind the church from shore to cliff runs quaint old Rue Sous le Fort. Following this (or better still, the narrow Rue La Place which precedes it) to the shore, we strike the vast open space of Champlain Market—the present publick market. Looking up to the cliff, we obtain the

most impressive possible vista of the Château Frontenac and Dufferin Terrace towering dizzily over the lower town's steep roofs and the green and grey cliffs. Near this market was Champlain's original 1608 Abitation. From here, also, the modern ferries and steamers largely leave. At the head of Sous-le-Fort, under the cliff, was the old chapel of 1615 (burnt during the Kirby siege of 1629)—and also the settlement's spring. Proceeding up to this, we find on our right the dizzy iron flight of Breakneck Steps, leading to the bend near the top of Mountain Hill. The steps—originally of stone, were formerly much more winding, steep, and picturesque; but middle nineteenth century alteration gave them their present form.* Against the cliff we see the great elevator leading to Dufferin Terrace above and can imagine the grandeur of the scene when old Ft. St. Louis beetled over the brink, as it did prior to 1834. On the left the narrow, sidewalkless and antient Rue Petit-Champlain, with its steep roofs, broad, thin chimneys, and crumbling dormers leads along under the edge of the cliff. Following the latter, we behold a street as quaint as any in Marblehead or Charleston; with mendicant children reminding one of the small Italian boys in Boston's North End. The right-hand side is a solid row of houses against the cliff. On the left, there are occasional gaps with short flights of wooden steps leading down to the closely parallel street which runs at a slightly lower level. Eventually we reach a junction with this street not much beyond the old King's Wharf, where in 1746 King Louis XV establish'd a Royal Naval Shipyard, and where Marine and Fisheries Hdqrs. now are. Some distance back to the left we see the old Government storehouse built in 1820 and bearing the date with the magick initials G. R.³³—one of the few British Georgian buildings in Quebec. Ahead, along the shore under the cliff, a complete absence of all buildings seems to indicate the ending of the town. Proceeding onward and looking more closely, however, we discover the foundations of edifices which once were there; and presently we notice that the cliff on our right is wall'd up to a considerable extent by artificial masonry. This is the scene of the great landslide of 1889, when a portion of the cliff fell upon the houses then standing, killing 66 persons. Continuing along the deserted roadway—Champlain St.—we presently see a tablet on the cliff marking the site of the Près-de-Ville barricade, where Montgomery was kill'd in 1775. At length, after traversing a distance equal to several city squares, we come upon houses again; and find something almost spectral in this disjoin'd and half-forgotten district whose existence so few land travellers to Quebec ever suspect. As we grasp more details, our impression of the spectral and the macabre increases; for we see that this suburb indeed has something of death about it, in that all of its houses are mere shells of immemorial decay, whilst frequent gaps in the rows on both sides tell where buildings have been demolish'd or have collaps'd under their own weight. Squalor everywhere reigns, and many of the still-standing houses are deserted; either tightly boarded up or gaping open with sashless windows and empty doorways. The bare cliff, here towering up to a stupendous altitude, since we are now at Cape Diamond below the lofty citadel, has an especially malign and terrifying aspect when glimps'd through the gaps caus'd by the vanish'd houses; and we come to weave disquieting dreams wherein we connect some hideous, palaeogean rock-sentience and evil purposiveness with the slaying of the 66 so many years ago, and with the general blight and disintegration which have fallen upon the whole district. There were houses below Cape Diamond at a very early date, forming the section call'd Neuville; but these do not seem to have reach'd as far as Près-de-

*In 1866 a vault was found at the foot of this flight—thought by some to be Champlain's tomb, tho' doubtful.

Ville, since accounts of Montgomery's attack speak of the wild and narrow nature of the shore path from Wolfe's Cove. The present structures, however, must have been built not long afterward; since their architecture is of a very early type. We first hear of this district as inhabited by Irish families, of whom (as attested by the building of commodious St. Patrick's in 1832) there were once a great number in Quebec. At a bend in the road, where the cliff juts out beyond the citadel in bow-window fashion, we may still see the commodious building of the Quebec Hibernian Club; now in a dingy state tho' not in actual disrepair. Close to this, an endless flight of rickety wooden steps leads up to the Cove Fields, beside some abandon'd fortifications built by Gen' Haldimand in 1783, and connects with a board walk stretching to Laurier Ave. and the Grande Allée. Looking sharply to the left from this walk we may see (near Ross Rifle Factory) one of the Martello Towers; another being visible nearer the Grande Allée. The Champlain St. district, by the time of the 1889 landslide, had sunk to a slum, and it has probably retrograded still further since then. The present population, which seems as much French as Irish in all places, and wholly French as one proceeds farther along the shoar, seems to be engaged mostly in fishing if one can judge by the wharves and boats that line the water. Beyond the steps and the Hibernian Club the houses thin, but soon thicken again as we reach what is evidently the distinct French fishing village of Cap Blanc. Here, at the water's edge, and reach'd from the road thro' a picturesque yard with flagg'd walk, is the quaint seaman's chapel of Notre Dame de la Garde. Beyond Cap Blanc there is access to Wolfe's Cove and Sillery along the shoar, tho' the region is but little settled. The Champlain St. district, sever'd tho' it is from the city proper, is nevertheless reach'd by an omnibus line. One section of it is locally known as Les Foulons, perhaps because of some long-vanish'd fulling-mill.

A Circuit of the City Walls

The antient *city walls* of Quebec deserve a study by themselves; and the wise visitor will not omit a compleat circumnavigation of them—walking along their summit when possible. They remain virtually compleat, except for the demolish'd St. John's, Palace, Hope, and Prescott Gates; and do not seem to be at all threaten'd by modern "progress". The walls as a whole enclose a liberal area of the upper town, and were so wisely plann'd that urban growth did not cause them to be overflow'd by solidly compact streets till the later eighteenth century; tho' the suburb of St. John had early develop'd outside St. John's Gate on the principal road to Three Rivers, Montreal, and the upper St. Lawrence Valley generally. This is in strong contrast to the case of Charleston, whose meagre wall'd area, lay'd out in 1680 and re-fortify'd in 1703, was so inadequate to future needs that the town had far transcended it by 1720—causing the walls to be demolish'd bit by bit from then onward, till shortly nothing but one of the pointed bastions remain'd (still surviving as the "Old Powder Magazine" in Cumberland St.). The Quebec city wall begins—reckoning from the southwest—at the Citadel, and forms a continuation of the outer works of that stronghold. It crosses the plateau to the northern rim as a towering rampart of earth-fill'd masonry rising sheer from the downward-sloping ground-level, and having four projecting casemated bastions along its course. Along this western stretch are three gates—St. Louis Gate, still existing after reconstruction in the 1870's, where Rue St. Louis passes outside the walls and becomes the now-fashionable Grande Allée; Kent Gate, also surviving in reconstructed form, where Rue Dauphine forms an egress, and changes into St. Patrick St; and St. John's Gate, now demolish'd, where the great arterial business street, Rue

St. Jean, leaves the wall'd area. An exploration of the walls may well begin at the citadel—forming a continuation of an observation-stroll on that elevation, or of a walk along Rue St. Louis, or of a tour of the sinister Champlain St. slum, in which latter case we gain the plateau by means of the steps behind the Hibernian Club, and reach the citadel over the Cove Fields plank walk and the easterly end of Ave. Laurier. From the citadel northward we may walk along the broad turf top of the wall; an excellent path, supplemented by planks and bridges where necessary, being provided for the purpose. As we follow the angles of the bastions we may obtain some excellent vistas, not only of the town, but of other parts of the wall itself. Crossing over St. Louis gate with its stone steps, platform, parapets, and towers, we find ourselves on a stretch flank'd on either side by open park-like areas—the Esplanade, an abandon'd parade-ground, on our right within the walls, and extending to the rising line of Rue d'Auteuil with its picturesque antient houses; while on our left is the park attach'd to the House of Parliament, penetrated by Ave. Dufferin, and having an handsome circle opposite the entrance of the great edifice. The general view from this point is impressive in the extream; involving the bristling roofs and spires of the intra-mural town, with the gleaming silver of the Men's Church in the foreground, and the suggestion of distant river, countryside, and mountains in the background. Intimations of St. Roch's roofs and steeples below the northward cliff likewise add to the picture. Following the angles of a very large bastion, we come at length to Kent Gate, (close to the silver-steeped church) which resembles that of St. Louis, and which we cross in the same manner. There was a gate here as early as 1663. These two are the only surviving gates of the original five. The wall has by this time closely approach'd Rue d'Auteuil, and we may descend the steps to that picturesque street if we wish; but if we wish otherwise, we may continue to a point near Rue St. Jean, where the wall abruptly ends at the site of the demolish'd St. John's Gate. Scrambling down the grassy bank to Rue d'Auteuil, we follow the descent of that hill street for a few yards and come upon the great St. John thoroughfare. This ends our walk on the walls proper; for we shall not be able to ascend them for the rest of their western stretch, whilst later on they cease to be actual walls, but coincide with the cliff-edge as ramparts and batteries. From the open square where St. John St. curves around from its intra-mural to its extra-mural section, we may advantageously look up the hill we have descended; for the vista is picturesque and archaick in the extream, despite the demolition of the gate proper. The rising ground seems to us the entrance to some elder and alluring mystery—some archaick world or crystallis'd mirage preserv'd for our delectation—and the effect is immeasurably enhanc'd by the steep antient roofs of Rue d'Auteuil, topp'd mystically by the tapering silver spire of the Men's Church. St. John's Gate is one of the principal urban centres, containing the Y.M.C.A. and the leading theatre. We now proceed down Rue Glacis, first of the extra-mural streets, noting the mystical spire of the Sisters of Charity Church. The wall, on our right, is now largely hidden by intervening buildings. A recent extension of McMahon St. would enable us to turn east within the walls thro' a new breach, and gain Palace Gate by a route passing St. Patrick's 1832 church; but for our present purpose it is better to continue outside the walls down Glacis St., past what seems to be a convent or monastery, and descend the cliff to St. Roch by way of the zigzag Rue Cicoton. Or if we prefer, we may add a detour into McMahon St.; where, before returning, we may again get close to the wall at a point on our right where a bastion turns east before resuming the general northward trend in the convent garden on our left. Our descent of the Rue Cicoton deposits us in St. Roch at a section of St. Valier St. a square and a half beyond the walls. Turning eastward—to our right—down

St. Valier we soon come upon the wall again; crowning the dizzy precipice on our right, far overhead, but commencing a gradual and picturesque descent of the cliff as it extends ahead toward the east. As we proceed, this drop begins to be compensated for by the increasing height of the vast rampart; since the old artillery barracks (1756—now Dominion Arsenal where munitions for the Canadian Army are made) are situate here just inside the wall, so that their fortress-like outer surface forms a continuous upward prolongation of the wall itself. It is this stupendous and mediaeval sight—the most grimly impressive vista of its kind in America—which the traveller beholds from a lower level as he enters the town by way of the Union Station. Presently we see the Cyclopean wall turn a corner to the north, where a steep street with sidewalk-railing climbs upward to the plateau in the lee of the overpowering masonry. This is Côte du Palais, or Palace Hill, and we are made aware that we have reach'd the site of old Palace or St. Nicolas Gate—built 1691, improv'd 1720, reimprov'd 1790, rebuilt 1823–33, and finally demolish'd in 1864. The gate itself was somewhat up the hill. On our left, two streets beginning quite close together—Rues St. Nicolas and Lacroix—descend to the level of Rue St. Paul and the railway station. Also on our left—at the NW corner of St. Valier and St. Nicolas—we see a late eighteenth century building flank'd on the left by a taller and more modern business block. These form the celebrated Boswell's Brewery, and occupy the site of the old Intendant's Palace, which in turn replac'd Talon's old brewery of 1668. This return to the original purpose is somewhat picturesque. The subterraneous vaults of the old 1668 brewery still exist, and will be shewn to visitors upon request. The old Talon brewery was chang'd to a palace by the Intendant de Meulles in 1686. It was burnt in 1713 under the infamous Intendant Bigot, and repair'd by him. Another fire—ever the bane of old Quebec—damag'd it in 1726, but Dupuy restor'd it in 1727. As we have seen, the old palace was eventually destroy'd in 1775 by the batteries of the invader Benedict Arnold in St. Roch. Across Palace Hill on the farther right-hand corner—with the curve of that street on its right and the rising glacis for the Ramparts on its left—we see the wall of the rambling Hôtel Dieu, which we shall visit in detail later on. The city wall, save in connexion with the Arsenal and demolish'd gate, does not ascend Palace Hill; but becomes identify'd with the cliff-edge as it rises beyond Palace Gate. It here receives the name of The Ramparts, and its inner side becomes a parapet along the edge of the precipice, with a street bordering it. The top of the thick parapet slopes downward toward the outside, and has a covering of boards. Salient terraces at various points contain old-fashion'd cannon which frown down on the lower town and harbour in truly formidable style. As we stand at Palace Gate, we have a choice of walking below the wall thro' Rue St. Charles (which here forms a continuation of St. Valier), or following it upward on the inside along the Rampart street. We have been along both routes before during our orientation tour, and this time it is probably wiser to choose the upward course. We curve up with the wall of the Hôtel Dieu on our right, and the fortify'd brink of the ever-rising precipice on our left. The view of lower town, waterfront, and distant landscape becomes more and more impressive; and finally we reach the lofty plateau level, veering gently toward the right as the cliff-edge turns. There now spreads out one of the boldest of the gun platforms, while ahead we see a pleasing urban landskip—the foot of Rue Hamel on our right, just beyond it the square, point-roof'd house once inhabited by Montcalm, and in the distance, over other roofs, the curious French steeple of Laval University—which is one of the most pronounc'd of all Quebec landmarks. Over the cliff-edge on our left we see the point where, in the lower town, Rue St. Charles runs into St. Paul, and Canoterie-Hill begins to climb the cliff from the junction of the two.

The ascending houses in Canoterie-Hill form a quaint and pleasing sight with their steep roofs and antient facades. Of those only an outer row exists; the inside of the street being close against the fortify'd cliff. As we advance to meet the point where this glacis will reach the top, we see the steep Rue Dambourges opening off it toward the other side of the lower town. It is from the foot of this descent, we recall, that narrow Rue Sous-le-Cap begins—past whose roofs we shall now stroll. Passing the Montcalm house, we reach the top of Canoterie-Hill, just below which old Hope Gate once stood. So slight is the traffick on the hill, that the removal was really needless and unfortunate; and it is to be wish'd that a reproduction of the antient gate might be install'd. Leading inland from this point are the narrow and picturesque streets of St. Famille hill which we have previously explor'd. As we reach Rue Hébert—where the cliff-edge makes its sharp turn at the Sault au Matelot—we encounter on our left the Seminary walls with the bulky University building towering just above it, and enter upon that section of the cliff-defences known as the Grand Battery. The roofs immediately below us are now those of Rue Sault au Matelot; and as we proceed, we find the old guns rang'd along the parapet much more thickly and continuously than in the earlier stages of our course. The road, which has a pleasing semi-rusticity of aspect and which affords a magnificent view, now ascends gently toward Mountain Hill and Montmorency Park; where the cliff-line leaves the road and forms the outer boundary of a pleasant and restful expanse of grass and trees—where the older Bishop's Palace and Parliament House used to be. It will pay to follow the parapet with its antient cannon along a somewhat irregular course to where, near the Cartier Monument and the bastion of old Prescott Gate, the zigzag glacis of Mountain Hill cuts through the cliff and intersects our path at the foot of a masonry embankment. Across the street, on the rising level below us, the occasionally quaint and oldish houses of Mountain Hill climb in a curving line; broken just below us by the head of Breakneck Steps, which lead down to the joint beginning of Rues Sous-le-Fort and Petit-Champlain. We may reconstruct the scene, in imagination, as it was when frowning Prescott Gate existed. This was not constructed in its formal fashion and with its historick name till 1797. It was rebuilt, along with others, in 1823, but succumb'd to the demands of traffick in 1871. Our journey is now broken by the need to ascend to Buade St., proceed around the post office, and reach the cliff-edge again at the beginning of Dufferin Terrace. Here, antiently, the beetling masonry of Fort St. Louis us'd to frown out over the lower town; even now the fort's foundations exist under the boards of the terrace. From here to Cape Diamond, of course, the cliff-edge forms the natural line of defence; hence the rest of our course is merely a stroll to the end of the terrace, with the lower town below us, and the magnificent landscape of river, countryside, and Lévis cliffs forming a background. We may now, if we wish, climb the steep grass slope to the citadel, or continue around the face of Cape Diamond to the Cove Fields by way of the Citadel Walk and King's Bastion. At any rate, our circuit is now perform'd, and we have a better notion than before of the extent and topography of the old fortify'd upper town.

The Northern Upper Town

Another necessary walk of exploration includes the important historick antiquities of the civick centre in the northern upper town. Leaving the Place d'Armes as we did on our first orientation tour, we proceed along Rue Ste. Anne past the Anglican Cathedral to Rue Desjardins, where on the corner we find a tablet marking the site of the house or store of the old Company of 100 Associates. (It is well to note that many of

the historic sites and edifices are so mark'd, and to adopt a policy of reading the descriptive tablets whenever possible.) This house was also us'd as a parish church and residence of the Jesuits from 1640 to 1687. A pleasant stream, now cover'd up in the course of urbanisation, once flow'd thro' the meadows at this point, and was cross'd by a small bridge. Continuing to repeat our orientation tour, we turn to the right down Desjardins and once more note Basilica Place or City Hall Square—the former upper-town Market Place. Here, on the nearer or southern side, (line of Buade St.) Quebec's first tavern—the Baril d'Or or Golden Barrell—was open'd by Jacques Boisdon, who had on his sign a motto, "J'en bois donc", which form'd a pun on his name. We have seen that Boisdon was officially granted the right to serve guests at any time except during mass, catechism, or vespers—such being the regulations of a distinctly theocratic colony. So strict was the popish grip, as we have noted, that no Protestants were allow'd in Canada. In 1685 the noted Huguenot Gabriel Bernon sought to establish a home here, but was deported back to France and imprison'd—so that eventually he sought the more liberal atmosphere of His Britannick Maj^{ty's} Rhode-Island Colony, there becoming one of the most illustrious citizens, and the founder of King's Church (now St. John's) in Providence. It is amusing to reflect, that the site of the Baril d'Or is even now occupy'd by a restaurant. Antiently this side of the square was much higher than the opposite or northern side, so that a really steep terrace descended to the market area betwixt the Cathedral and Jesuit's College. The inequality has been very much lessen'd and graded in later years yet is still very apparent in the tilt of Basilica Place, and of its central grassy circle containing the Taschereau Monument. On our left as we enter the Place is the City Hall; its garden, containing the Hébert Monument, stretching back to Rue Ste. Anne. This edifice occupies the site of the antient Jesuit's College, built in 1635, and antedating Harvard by a year as the first institution of higher learning on this continent. Here taught some of the most famous of the early Canadian priests, including the martyrs Lallemand, Bréboeuf, Noué, Jogues, Daniel, and Vincent, who fell victims to Iroquois barbarism. It was here, we are inform'd, that Marquette form'd his plans for exploring the Mississippi Valley—whilst his companion Joliet play'd on the organ in the Cathedral across the square. The antient building, a splendid example of steep-roof'd French architecture on a massive scale, design'd by the Jesuit Jean Ligeois, who was bury'd under it, was in the form of a hollow square; and in 1759 was seiz'd by His Maj^{ty's} forces, clos'd as a college, and turned into a barracks. The chapel attach'd to it, endow'd by a son of Marquis de Mammache who enter'd the Jesuit order, was ruin'd by the bombardment of 1759 and finally demolish'd in 1807. The college remain'd as a barracks till 1878, when it was very unwisely demolish'd to make way for a City Hall. So massive was its construction, that the stone walls cou'd be destroy'd only with difficulty; and it is an eternal pity that it was not preserv'd and remodel'd for City Hall use. Beneath it were found the graves of the architect, Bro. Jean Ligeois, of Fr. de Quen, founder of the Tadoussac Mission and discoverer of Lac St. Jean at the head of the Saguenay, and of Fr. François du Peron, one of the most eminent of the missionaries amongst the Hurons. Ligeois was kill'd, decapitated, and scalp'd by the Iroquois at Sillery in 1655. All three skeletons thus found were finally (1891) reinter'd at the Ursuline Convent. The City Hall was not erected till later—1900–1906—and is a quasi-Norman affair of great size and depressingly Victorian atmosphere. An annex is about to be added. On the north side of Basilica Place is a brick business building (shop of S. Fisher and Sons) marking the site of the home of Genl. Brock, who serv'd so ably and met his death so nobly in the war of 1812. Opposite the City Hall on the eastern side of the square is the great and celebrated Basilica of

Notre-Dame with its mismated towers—the right-hand one of which bears a splendid and highly typical Quebec belfry-steeple. This distinguish'd fane is approximately on the site of its predecessor, the Chapel of Nôtre-Dame de la Recouvrance; which Champlain built in 1633 as the result of a vow, and which commemorated the recovery of Quebec from His Britannick Maj^{ty's} power thro' the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. This chapel was burnt in 1640; and in 1647, under Montmagny, the cornerstone of the present church was lay'd by the Jesuit Father Vimont. In 1650 it was sufficiently compleat to permit of masses, and in 1658 it receiv'd its first bell—one of 1000 lbs., presented by Robert Hudon. The first organ, given by Bishop Laval, was play'd by the explorer Joliet. In 1664 the edifice was made a Cathedral by brief of Pope Clement, and in 1697 it was enlarg'd from 100 × 33 to 150 × 38 feet. In 1744 the eminent engineer Chaussegros de Léry—who later design'd the Citadel and fortifications under His Britannick Majesty's government—made radical alterations, built the side aisles, lengthen'd the structure 60 feet, and in general gave the Cathedral its present outline. In 1759 fire and bombardment greatly damag'd the edifice; but the structural supports and walls remain'd intact, so that restoration in 1768 was entirely practicable. An extension of 22 feet brought it to its exact present size of 216 × 94 feet. In the late eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century both exterior and interior were greatly embellish'd by three members of the celebrated engineering family of Baillargé. François Baillargé added a baldachin in 1793, and new statues and decorations were supply'd. A new belfry was built by Jean Baillargé. In 1820 the roof was tinn'd and a new organ provided, and in 1829 a sacristy was built. In 1844 Thomas Baillargé supply'd the present facade, thus creating the typical appearance manifest today. In 1874 a papal decree made the cathedral a Basilica, and in 1921 a complete restoration was undertaken. Late in 1922 a disastrous fire destroy'd everything but the external structure—including valuable antiquities and paintings. Only materials in the vaults were saved. Restoration was undertaken at once, following the old designs; and in 1925 the Basilica was again in shape and made fireproof. The interior was reconstructed with great taste, eighteenth century French designs predominating. Architects of the general rebuilding were Tanguay and Chênevert, whilst in the finer details Chênevert was assisted by Roisin of Paris. The baldachin and certain other details are by Vermare of Paris. New collections of ecclesiastical paintings and antiquities are in process of assembling; France having donated six fine canvasses. Beneath the Basilica are bury'd nearly all the popish Bishops of Quebec, and four of the French governors—Frontenac, de Callières, the elder Vaudreuil, and de Jonquières [sic]. Immediately adjoining the Basilica, and forming the northeast corner of Basilica Place, beside which Rue St. Famille stretches out toward the Ramparts, is the gateway to the extensive grounds of the ancient Seminary and Laval University. Just inside, on the left, is the modest and sightly Seminary Chapel—built in 1891 to replace one built by Frontenac in 1690, burnt in 1750 and restor'd, and finally burnt in 1889. Here are a number of ecclesiastical art objects, and several impressive reliques including portions of the inexhaustible Cross, remnants of the extensive Crown of Thorns, and scraps of the voluminous Seamless Robe. Among the objets d'art is a heavily jewelled reliquary, presented by Leo XIII and valued at \$50,000. Beneath the Chapel is interr'd Bishop Laval himself, ceremoniously transferr'd thither from the Basilica in 1838. The antient Seminary itself, whose stone walls and steep double-dormer'd roof may be seen thro' the gate from the square, was built in 1663 by Bishop de Laval (enlarg'd 1677) and in 1775 form'd the place of imprisonment of the rebel officers of Arnold's invading force. Fires, as usual, have wrought havoc with the edifice; it having been burnt and re-

stored in 1701 and again in 1705. The siege of 1759 nearly demolish'd it; but restoration follow'd, and it was enlarg'd in 1822 and thereafter, and has since been made fire-proof. This ground was originally the estate of Guillaume Couillard, son-in-law of the pioneer Hébert, and was purchas'd from his widow in 1663. Classes were first held in the house of Couillard; which stood on the grounds till long after the completion of the main edifice, and whose site is now mark'd by a tablet. The first class, held in 1666, contain'd 8 French boys, 6 Hurons, and few Algonquins; but it was soon found impossible to educate the Indians—these northern tribes being found more resistant to European ways than the civilis'd Mexicans encounter'd and assimilated by the Spanish conquistadores. Today the Seminary offers courses in general education and in divinity—60 professors and 1000 students in the former, and 12 professors and 200 students in the latter. The tortuous interior of the antient building and its additions, with underground corridors, endless steps and turnings, and galleries of dark-rob'd priests, might well suggest to the alert imagination some such venerable establishment as Dr. Bransby's in Stoke-Newington, well describ'd by Poe in "William Wilson". The Seminary now has a 5-story annex with all modern improvements, extending toward Hébert St., which will later be link'd with the main group. It is on land once us'd as a hop field for the brewing of beer for the students. Its construction unfortunately entail'd the destruction of the antient de Léry manor house, land for which was sold to the de Lérays in 1726, and repurchased in recent years. Attach'd to the Seminary and extending out to the Ramparts at Sault au Matelot is the great 6-story Victorian bulk of Laval University, redeem'd from the commonplace by a quaint and curious spire of archaick French design which forms a salient object on the Quebec skyline. Laval University, the foremost Popish institution of learning in North-America, was founded in 1852—the edifice having been erected in 1857. It is an outgrowth of the Seminary, and has courses in medicine, law, geodesy, forestry, and the general arts and sciences essential to a liberal education. There are four chairs—Theology, Law, Medicine, and Art,—and the personnel numbers 125 professors and over 600 students. There is a branch in Montreal, and over 26 other colleges and seminaries are affiliated with it. The building, so impressively rising from the edge of the great cliff, houses notable halls and museums; and an art gallery with exceedingly valuable paintings—including 2 Van Dycks, 1 Poussin, 1 Lesueur, 1 Tintoretto, 1 David, 2 Parrocels, 1 Paget, 1 Vernet, and 4 Salvador Rosas. The library is one of the finest in Canada. On the roof is a promenade offering marvellous vistas of the countryside up the St. Charles and down the St. Lawrence.

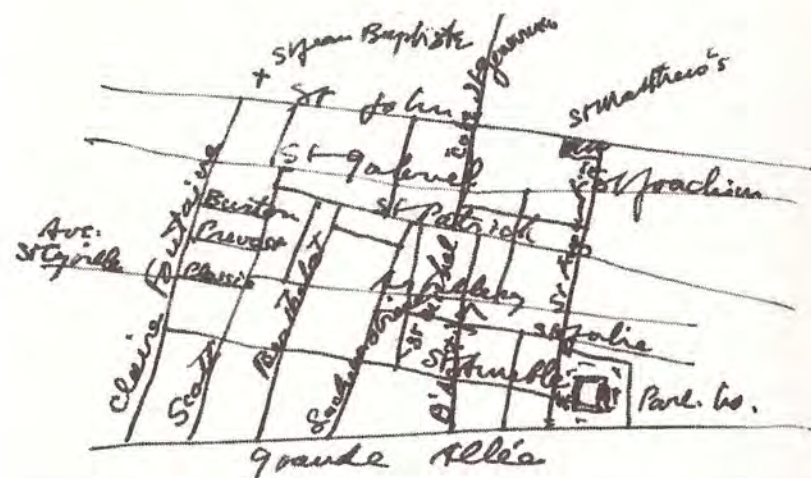
Having now completed our round of the Seminary grounds, we reëmerge into Basile Place and start down the slope of broad Fabrique St., which forms a north-westward prolongation of the square. This is a thoroughfare of the highest class of shops, and we shortly come to its broad junction with quaint and ancient Rue Garneau, which joins it from the right. This is one of the curious byways of St. Famille Hill which we have previously noticed. One square farther down the slope, and we come to the open space where Couillard St.—archaick and picturesque, comes in from the right, whilst St. John St.—a continuation of the main business district—goes on to the left. This is the end of Fabrique, but a narrow byway opposite the end leads down to the secluded backwater of Rue Charlevoix, whose single row of antient houses faces the venerable wall of the Hôtel Dieu. This venerable convent and hospital is probably best reachable from Palace Hill—a square to the left along Charlevoix—where some new construction is even now progressing. It was founded in 1639 by the Duchess d'Aiguillon, niece of Cardinal Richelieu, and the first nuns came to Quebec with the Ursulines. The full name is "L'Hôtel Dieu du Précieux Sang". The original edifice was

constructed in 1657, but has since been many times burnt and restored. Victorian additions have overshadow'd the fine, steep-roof'd old building with their atrocious bulk, but the veteran still survives, and can be seen in the rear of the hodge-podge. The old chapel also exists, and houses some notable paintings—as well as the bones of the famous Jesuit martyrs Bréboeuf and Lallemant. From Hôtel Dieu we may, if we wish, descend Palace Hill and revisit the old Artillery Barracks—present Dominion Arsenal, where Canada's munitions of war are made. We may also enter McMahon St., which opens off Palace Hill to the left a block below where Charlevoix opens to the right, and view on the southern or left-hand side the dignify'd facade of St. Patrick's church, erected in 1832 for the Irish Catholics of Quebec, and now conducted by the Redemptionist Fathers—who also control the new St. Patrick's in the Grande Allée, and the celebrated shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré. Now turning and ascending Palace Hill to St. John—our route on arriving in Quebec at the Union Station—we note the old building—formerly a tavern—on the N.W. corner, with the quaint Genl. Wolfe statue in a niche overlooking the intersection. This, as we have seen, is a reproduction of the original tavern sign; which was carried off by sailors as a practical joke, and plac'd in the library of the Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. upon its ultimate restoration. It is notable that this is still a prominent tavern corner, the well-known Victoria Hotel being here and having entrances on both St. John and Palace Sts. Turning westward into St. John, we traverse it one square; then turning southward—to the left—into St. Stanislas;³⁴ which we follow to the quaint open square where a homelike English Georgian steeple—the only one in Quebec besides the Anglican Cathedral's—rises in simple tastefulness. God Save the King! This is St. Andrew's Scotch Church, built in 1824 and still in excellent condition. Close by is Morin College, occupying a remodel'd gaol building, a Presbyterian institution affiliated with McGill University of Montreal. This institution is a sort of intellectual centre for Quebec's Anglo-Saxon minority, and contains the library of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. It is nam'd from a former mayor of the city. Also in this neighbourhood is the house (65 Ste. Anne) inhabited in 1873 by that mild and correct old lady William Dean Howells of Boston, who here writ his book, "A Chance Acquaintance".³⁵ Now returning to the Place d'Armes by way of Rue Ste. Anne, we re-pass the site of the Hundred Associates' store at the corner of Desjardins, and have on our right the fine churchyard of the Anglican Cathedral—which faces us as we advance. On the left for the balance of the way we see many tourist and souvenir centres—both across from the Cathedral, and on the north side of the Place d'Armes.

Westward Regions

At least one detail'd pedestrian journey shou'd be taken in the western part of the city; especially the St. John suburb, where we have mention'd the quaint streets leading uphill on the left from extra-mural St. John St. The route from the intra-mural centre, of course, is along Rue St. Jean; and as we advance we must not fail to note again the ethereal and alluring vistas we have seen before—the rising lines of St. Stanislas, St. Angela and St. Ursule Sts.; the silver spire of the Men's Congregational Church over the ancient climbing roofs of Rue d'Auteuil on our left just before we pass through St. John's Gate; the glimpses of the Sisters of Charity belfry-steeple downhill on our right shortly after we have pass'd through the gate; the quaint ascending lines of Rues d'Youville and St. Eustache on our left; the picturesque old churchyard of St. Matthew's on our left at the S.W. corner of Rue St. Augustin; the glimpses of St. Roch's roofs and

the distant countryside and mountains at the end of the downhill streets leading to the cliff-edge on our right, etc. etc. It is beyond St. Augustin that the quaintest uphill streets on our left begin, and these are so rich in archaick atmosphere that they deserve particular exploration—for the downhill vistas from above, and some of the vistas along lateral streets wholly hidden from St. John, are of the greatest quaintness and beauty. The dominant type of house in this quarter—which was probably built up in the early nineteenth century—is the characteristick French gambrel with heavily overhanging cornice and steep, curved lower pitch; and sometimes with double tiers of dormers. Houses are generally of a story and a half—with sometimes an extra attick story to which the upper dormers admit light. They tend to be of brick—often painted yellow. Some have doorways like New England 1830-period houses—with transom and sidelights—though these transoms and sidelights tend to have shutters. The sidelights tend to be broader than those of New England. As we have said, the compact part of old Georgian Quebec seems to have extended west about as far as Rue Claire Fontaine—which was nam'd from a spring on Abraham Martin's old property. If one were to ascend Côte St. Geneviève to St. Patrick and turn to the right, one would come upon Rue St. Michel—where in ancient days the extra-mural defence of Ft. Pique was situate. The choicest route, however—if one is to make a digression from St. John—is up Scott to Rue Plessis, through Plessis, to the right, to Claire Fontaine, and thence down to St. John again along Claire Fontaine; at all times glancing appreciatively thro' the cross streets for quaint architectural vistas. This neighbourhood represents the early nineteenth century in Quebec, just as St. Famille hill represents the eighteenth. In its prime, of course, it was the suburb of St. John, and not an official part of the city. At present it is rather seedy, but not a downright slum. Indeed, the actual slums of Quebec (Sous-le-Cap, Petit-Champlain, Champlain, and places in St. Roch) are by no means so offensive as the corresponding slums of U.S. towns; probably because of the homogeneity and long-seatedness of the population. As we ascend the very steep gradient of Scott St. (presumably nam'd for Sir Walter's brother Thomas, who lyes bury'd in St. Matthew's Churchyard) we note the presence of occasional steps in the sidewalk to break the steepness. These sidewalk-steps are characteristic of the uphill streets in this region. Our sensation in penetrating this airy realm of old brick facades and curving roofs is that of walking bodily into a fantastick picture, for the perfect archaism of Scott St. is comparable to that of Tradd St. in Charleston. At St. Gabriel—the next up from St. John—Scott St. makes a considerable jog to the left—this being one of the sources of its especial picturesqueness as view'd from below. Above this jog the grade is less steep. Continuing to Rue Plessis we turn to the right and strike Claire Fontaine; then turning once more to the right and proceeding down the steep incline of Claire Fontaine to St. John again. This descent of Claire Fontaine, with its many sidewalk steps, (more than in Scott) old painted brick facades, curved gambrel roofs, heavy cornices, double dormer rows, etc. etc. shou'd be accomplit in a leisurely, observant way permitting the full savouring of all the archaick details. The sidewalk steps, it may be noted, occur most thickly in the steepest part immediately above St. John. During the whole of this downhill stroll the glamour of the scene is enhanc'd by the exquisite silver belfry-steeple which looms up below, where the quaint lines of curving roofs converge. This is attach'd to the large church of St. Jean-Baptiste in St. John St. Beyond it, from the high parts of the street, we may see over the housetops the St. Roch suburb beyond the cliff-edge, and the distant countryside and mountains.



If we now have a wish for compleatness, and feel equal to a substantial further walk, it wou'd pay us to round out our urban exploration by descending to St. Roch and visiting the antient General Hospital on the banks of the St. Charles. Before doing this, however, we may wish to stroll out St. John to its union with the Ste. Foy Road; thereafter descending either Racine or Marchand to Latourelle—where, betwixt the first-mention'd two, one of the remaining 1812 Martello Towers stands in excellent condition on the cliff-edge. In any case, we seek the steep flight of steps descending to the head of Crown St. (de la Couronne) in St. Roch; which we reach by following Latourelle east from the Martello Tower and turning to the left down Ste. Claire, or—if we have not visited the tower—simply by following Ste. Claire (a virtual continuation of Scott St. down to the northern cliff-edge) down to its end from St. John. Descending to Crown St., we may advantageously turn to the left along St. Valier to its junction with Arago; then turning to the right along Dorchester; where, as previously mention'd, we behold on the NE corner of Ste. Hélène a gambrel-roof'd cottage (once one of three) of surprisingly Novanglian aspect. Continuing to St. Joseph—St. Roch's main street—we turn to the left and follow St. Joseph to the broad expanse of Boulevard Langelier; which separates the district of St. Roch and St. Sauveur, and beyond which we can see the great bulk of St. Sauveur church looming up in the distance. The parts of St. Roch just east and south of this point are very quaint and old, as we saw during our orientation-tour; and if we wish to visit them again we may vary our programme by retracing Dorchester to St. Valier and proceeding to Boulevard Langelier either by that thoroughfare or by Rue St. Colombe, which can be reached from St. Valier by turning to the left a block down short Rue Belleau. But whatever be our mode of reaching the Boulevard, our next step is to follow it completely down to its northern ending on the narrow loop of the St. Charles River, where we shall find the famous and antient General Hospital. In reaching this we shall pass the celebrated Technical School of the Provincial Government, whose tall, ornate tower we have no doubt previously noted as one of the landmarks of the northwestward vista from the plateau. The school looms on our left. Just beyond, on the same left-hand side of the Boulevard, there rises the high wall of the Hospital; above which we can descry archaic gables, and the curiously graceful steeple of the Hospital Chapel. Entering the

grounds, we note the tasteful landscaping and the marvellous picturesqueness of the steep-roof'd, double-dormer'd edifices. These fine old buildings are the least alter'd of any of the antient publick structures of Quebec, having never suffer'd damage by fire; and close study of them will give one an idea of the original aspect of such places as the Seminary, Ursuline Convent, and Hôtel Dieu. There is an old windmill nearby bearing the date 1607; but this latter is certainly erroneous or spurious in view of the history of the settlement. This mill was us'd as a fort for the convent. Across the narrow river-bend are great vaults us'd in French times for storing provisions. As we have noted, the General Hospital was built as a monastery for the Récollet Order, a branch of the Franciscans who came to Quebec in 1615, thus preceding the more arrogant and enterprising Jesuits, who soon swept all before them. Their first monastery was built on this site in 1620—its relation to the present edifice, itself obviously very antient, being obscure to the present writer. It was the intention of the Récollets to found a seminary for both French and Indian boys, but this did not materialise. The location of the monastery at this point is attributed to an intention of Champlain's to found a city there—to be call'd Louisville—which was subsequently abandon'd in favour of the original Quebec site. The present hospital buildings are those of the Récollet Monastery, as is the antient church. The old cloister of the friars is still in good condition, and contains an interesting monastick cell. We may also behold the rooms tenanted by Count Frontenac when, during his first governing period, he us'd to come hither for an annual spiritual retreat. He was an especial patron of the Récollets; but it is said that he usually emerg'd from his retreat periods more violent and choleric than when he enter'd upon them. In 1683 Bishop St. Valier purchas'd the monastery for use as an hospital (specialising in incurables) and retreat for the aged, to be conducted by nuns as a branch of the Hôtel Dieu; whereupon the Récollets built a new monastery and church (1693) in the upper town, on the site of the Seneschal's Court next the Place d'Armes, where the Anglican Cathedral now stands. The hospital, once establish'd as such, has never alter'd its nature or management; tho' its nuns were separated from those of Hôtel Dieu in 1701, and tho' the feature of old-age refuge did not permanently materialise. In 1759 many of the wounded from Plains of Abraham—of both armies—were treated here; amongst them being the fatally stricken Montcalm, who was later transferr'd to the house of Dr. Arnoux in the upper town. Many of the dead from this battle, and from the Ste. Foy fight of the following year, are interr'd in the hospital's graveyard. In 1775 it was to this hospital that Benedict Arnold was taken after his knee was shatter'd in the fighting near Palace Gate. The antient hospital buildings are very rambling, and cover much ground; and he is indeed fortunate who secures time and permission to inspect all of them. The gracefulness of the group, with venerable steeple and landscap'd grounds, is such as to excite the admiration of the artist. Whilst in this part of Quebec, the traveller may well seek one of the bridges to graceful Victoria Park, across the narrow bend of the river Charles, where an excellent statue of Montmagny exists.

(4). Suburban Pilgrimages.

Point Lévis

Having now well cover'd the urban part of Quebec, and having still earlier explor'd the adjacent north shoar of the St. Lawrence as part of the process of absorbing provincial colour; we may now round out our Quebec survey by briefly visiting certain close suburbs where material of historick interest is available. Foremost of all comes



Lévis, to which we must cross on the ferry (foot of Rue La Place, rear N. D. des Victoires, Breakneck Steps, and elevator to Dufferin Terrace) for an exquisite view of the entire urban skyline. Splendid glimpses may be had from the ferry itself, but to obtain the most advantageous view one must land in Lévis and ascend to the cliff-top there; either by a dizzy flight of steps a square or two to the left of the ferry landing, or by a trolley-car which may be boarded opposite the landing itself. Lévis, like Quebec, has an upper and lower town; but is by no means an antient place. Its buildings seem to be mostly of Victorian date, and resemble building of the corresponding period in Quebec—with French window-casements and other characteristick features. On the heights are some churches whose spires resemble the tall provincial specimens rather than those of Quebec City, and three old forts; from which Wolfe's troops shell'd Quebec in 1759. The best view of Quebec is to be had from the head of the steps from the lower town; and to see this at its best one ought to choose the sunrise, when all the old town's steep roofs and silver belfries are touch'd with dawn-fire, or at sunset, when the frowning citadel, grim Château tower, and grotesque university steeple are darkly silhouetted against the flaming red and orange mystery of the west. The whole skyline sweep—from bold Cape Diamond on the left to the steeped turn of the cliff at Sault au Matelot on the right—is magnificent beyond description against a background of sky and a side setting of green countryside with mystical purple Laurentians on the horizon. An excellent trolley trip from Lévis is along the shoar westward to the great Quebec Bridge at Charny, across the Chaudière Basin.

Isle of Orleans

The traveller should most certainly take the long ferry sail to the Isle of Orleans eastward in the St. Lawrence from Quebec (Indian, *Minego*) antiently known as the Isle of Bacchus because of its grapes, and as the Isle of Sorcerers because of its reputed evil spirits.* Here, according to most travellers, the provincial countryside may be seen in a state more antient and unspoiled than on the northern mainland shoar. Fortunately there are sightseeing coaches from the Place d'Armes which tour this island in a very ample and satisfactory manner. It is on this island, we recall, that Wolfe had his main encampment in 1759. Here may still be seen the quaint old villages of Ste. Petronille, St. Pierre, Ste. Famille, St. Jean, St. Laurent, and St. François; many of them having antient and notable churches. There exist here also Canada's oldest rural

*The distant bobbing lanterns of the Orleans fisherfolk at night, as seen from Quebec, are thought to have been mistaken for the torches of evil spirits in infernal dances—hence the reputation and name.

convent, seigneurial mills, typical French* farmhouses, and the like. From many points, also, magnificent views in all directions are to be had.

Charlesbourg Road

If the traveller be equipt with a vehicle, he had better drive across Dorchester Bridge to the Charlesbourg Road; following it to the point where, about a mile distant from the city in Limoilou, a (cross) monument marks the spot (at the confluence of the St. Charles and the small Laitet) where Jacques Cartier spent the winter of 1535-6 with the crews of the Petite-Hermine and Grande Hermine. Here was the Indian village of Stadacona, of which Donnacona was the chief or Agohanna. Over-against it Cartier erected a fort, and on May 3, 1536, three days before his return to France, he here plac'd a cross (of which the present one is a duplicate) 35 feet high inscrib'd with the arms of the French King and the inscription "Franciscus Primus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Regnat."³⁶ Splendid views of Quebec can be obtain'd from the Charlesbourg Road, and many may wish to continue to the village of Charlesbourg itself, on the first foothills of the Laurentians, where many of the women and children were sent for safety during Wolfe's siege of Quebec. Four miles east of this, in the mountains, may be found the ruins of the hunting-lodge or country seat—Beaumanoir—of the vicious Intendant Bigot.

Lorette

The Huron Indian village of Lorette, eight miles northwest of Quebec near the falls of the St. Charles, is eminently worthy of a visit. It may be reach'd by railway, or by road vehicle along either the Charlesbourg or the Little River road. It is here that the remnants of the Iroquois-massacred Huron nation were finally settled (1697) after a long period of camping in the upper town and elsewhere. They are here still—using the language and religion of the French and occupying themselves with the manufacture of such typical Indian goods as moccasins, beaded slippers, snowshoes, and canoes. Much of their handiwork is sold in the shops of Quebec. They have a virtual monopoly in this especial field, and work and live precisely in the manner of their ancestors. There is now, of course, much white blood in their veins. To view these warrior-scions in their village tranquillity, and to think at the same time of the once potent Iroquois on their reservations in northern New-York, is to arouse a train of historick and philosophick reflection not soon to be banish'd. The falls of the St. Charles at Lorette, with a drop of 150 feet, are very sightly, and betwixt them and Quebec the fleet canoes of the Hurons us'd often to ply. There is a large tannery at which leather for the Huron manufactures is drest. The church or chapel at Lorette is above 200 years old; and is well worth visiting not only for its own sake but because of the important reliques of the past therein deposited. Lorette is about a half-hour's trip by rail from the Union Station.

Sillery

The village of Sillery, whose church-steeple on a point jutting into the St. Lawrence just above Quebec is so prominent a landmark in the adjacent countryside, and so alluring a background-feature of the vista from Battlefields Park, is well worth a visit

from the traveller. It may be reach'd from Quebec on a stroll along the shoar beyond Wolfe's Cove, by the St. Louis Road, and by an electric trolley line. In proceeding thither we may behold the gubernatorial estate of Spencerwood, beyond Battlefields Park—a low, Southern-looking manor-house once inhabited by the Governors-General of Canada, and now by the Lt. Governors of Quebec Province. Two well-kept cemeteries also lie along the route. Detouring to the left at the proper spot from the St. Louis Road, we come upon Sillery itself, with its convent and church of St. Columba on a river headland forming a lower part of the plateau. This locality was very early a seat of Jesuit missionary enterprise amongst the Algonquins; and in 1637 St. Michel's church and the Residence of St. Joseph were built, around which an Indian village sprang up. In 1640 the Ursuline nuns were quarter'd here, before the building of their Quebec Convent on its present site. Here Canada's first missionary Massé dy'd in 1640, earning a bronze memorial tablet in 1646 and (upon the rediscovery of his bones) a stone monument in 1870. Hence departed the martyr Jesuits Jogues, Bréboeuf, and Lallemant, upon their fatal missions in the Iroquois-haunted wilderness. Noël Brulart de Sillery, (b. 1577) Commander of the Knights of Malta and (after 1642) a missionary priest, was the leading spirit in the establishment of these ecclesiastical enterprises. St. Michel's church no longer exists except as ruin'd foundations, but the Residence of St. Joseph still survives as the oldest house in the Province of Quebec, and probably in the Dominion of Canada. It is a simple edifice of gray stone, with red window shutters; and has an underground passage which runs east from the front of the building opposite the door—the latter undoubtedly for purposes of escape in case of hostile Indian attack. St. Columba's modern church, whose steeple is such a landmark, is of the Irish Catholic variety. For those who wish to go beyond Sillery, Cap Rouge is a worthy objective. Here the St. Louis and Ste. Foy roads unite in a region (glimps'd from the train coming over Quebec Bridge) affording the most significant possible views of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence valleys. It was here, we recall, that Jacques Cartier's third expedition (1541) winter'd; and here that Sieur de Roberval unsuccessfully attempted to found a convict colony in 1542. The name is deriv'd from the ruddy colour of the soil and rock at this point, a phenomenon arising from the presence of oxide of iron.

THE END

Quebec visited—Aug.—Sept. 1930.
Description finish'd—Jan. 14, 1931.

APPENDIX

Place-names in Quebec which differ substantially in form according to common French and English usage.

Côte de la Montagne	Mountain Hill
Côte du Palais	Palace Hill
Rue de la Couronne	Crown St.
Rue de la Reine	Queen St.
Rue de l'Eglise	Church St.
Ave. des Erables	Maple Ave.

*Some see a Scandinavian influence in these old Norman cottages.

Rue Desjardins.....	Garden St.
Rue du Pont.....	Bridge St.
Rue du Roi.....	King St.
Parc des Champs de Batailles.....	Battlefields Park
Rue Petit Champlain.....	Little Champlain St.
Rue St. André.....	St. Andrew St.
Rue St. Jean.....	St. John St.
Rue St. Pierre.....	St. Peter St.

Origins of Place Names

Canada	Ind. Kanata, a Collection of Huts
Lauzon (west of Lévis)	Mem. Jean de Lauzon, Governor of New-France, 1651–6.
Lévis	Mem. François Gaston, Chevalier Lévis Leran, General under Montcalm, and after him Commander. Victor at Ste. Foy 1760. Name changed from Point Lévi.
Montmorency (river and falls)	Mem. Henri de Montmorency, Viceroy of New-France 1620–24. Name given by Champlain.
Montreal	Royal Mountain—named by Jacques Cartier.
Quebeck	Indian Kébec, a narrow strait.
Sillery	Mem. Noël Brulart de Sillery, Knight of Malta, who became a priest and Indian missionary 1642.
Three Rivers (bet. Quebeck and Montreal)	City at confluence of St. Lawrence and two others.

Origin of Street Names

Buade	Louis de Buade, Comte de Palluau et de Frontenac. Govr. New-France 1672 et seq.
Carillon	Battle by Lake Champlain, where Montcalm distinguish'd himself. Carillon was original name of Ft. Ticonderoga.
Champlain	Samuel de Champlain. Founder of Quebeck.
Charlevoix	Jesuit Historian of New-France.
Châteauguay	Battle, War of 1812. Genl. Wade Hampton repuls'd near Montreal.
Claire Fontaine	Spring on prop. of Abraham Martin, 1st river pilot.
Collins	Surveyor—late XVIII cent.
Côte d'Abraham	Abraham Martin, Scotsman, 1st St. L. Pilot, own'd land nr. here.
Couillard	son-in-law of Pioneer Hébert
d'Aiguillon	Duchesse d'Aiguillon, niece [of] Richilieu—founder of Hôtel Dieu.

d'Argenson
d'Artigny
de Courcelles
de Jumonville

de l'Eglise
de Salaberry
Dorchester

Dufferin
du Fort
du Palais
du Parloir
du Pont
du Tresor
Elgin
Ferland
Garneau
Haldimand
Hébert
Lallemant
Laval
Laurier
MacMahon
St. Valier
Sault au Matelot
Scott
Sous-le-Cap
Sous-le-Fort
Talon

Pierre Voyer, Vicomte d'Argenson, Govr. 1658.
noted Quebeck family.
Governor 1655.
French officer in Ohio Valley, kill'd 1754 by party under Lt. Col. Washington at Ft. Necessity, on the Monongahela.
nr. St. Roch Church.
French-Canadian Colonel, hero of Châteauguay (1814).
Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, Govr. Canada 1766 et seq. later L.
Dorchester.
Marquis of Dufferin—Gov. Canada 1846.
road to Ft. St. Louis.
hill road from Intendant's Palace.
road to parlour of Ursuline Convent.
street to Dorchester Bridge, St. Roch.
Treas. of Marine liv'd here.
Gov. Gen. Canada, XIX cent.
Priest-Historian of Canada.
F. X. Garneau, eminent Canadian historian.
Genl. Sir Fred'k Haldimand, Gov. Gen. 1781.
Louis Hébert, first settled landholder of Quebeck.
Jesuit priest—martyr among Iroquois.
1st Archbishop of Quebeck.
Sir Wilfrid Laurier, XX cent. statesman.
1st priest of St. Patrick's Church.
2nd Bishop of Quebeck.
Sailor here jump'd from cliff.
Thos. Scott (bro. Walter) military paymaster at Quebeck.
narrow street under the cliff.
street leads to cliff beneath old Ft. St. Louis.
First Intendant of New-France under Royal Govt.

EDITOR'S NOTE FP: In *To Quebec and the Stars*, ed. L. Sprague de Camp (West Kingston, RI: Donald M. Grant, 1976), pp. 111–309. Text based on the AMS (JHL). HPL's longest travelogue, and the longest single work he ever wrote: at 78,000 words, it is half again as long as *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* (51,500 words). HPL's first trip to Quebec in late summer 1930 was a spur-of-the-moment affair: he had discovered a remarkably cheap \$12.00 excursion fare to Quebec, and accordingly boarded a train on 30 August; he stayed only three days, but saw virtually everything there was to see. By mid-October he was announcing to James F. Morton that he was "trying to devise a *Quebeck* travelogue of some sort, which you shall behold upon its completion" (SL 3.197); by late December he had reached page 65 (SL 3.249), and by mid-January he told Morton: "Well, Sir, I have the honour to state, that I last Wednesday [14 January] completed the following work, design'd solely for my own perusal and for the crystallisation of my recollections, in 136 pages of this crabbed cacography" (SL 3.266). HPL never made any attempt to type the work and does not appear to have shown it to anyone.

HPL's historical section ("Book I") is extraordinarily lengthy as compared to similar sections in other travelogues, not only because he found the three centuries-long history of Quebec of unusual interest but also because it allowed him to express his Anglophilia in portraying the eventual conquest of Canada by the British. HPL notes in October 1930 that

"it took more study than I thought to assemble the necessary historick background" (SL 3.197), but he does not specify what works he consulted in assembling this background. Presumably the guidebooks he obtained in Quebec would not have been sufficient for the purpose. Among the leading histories of Quebec in English to which HPL may have had access are Robert Christie, *A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada* (18448–66; 6 vols.); J. M. Le Moine, *Historical and Sporting Notes on Quebec and Its Environs* (1889); Gilbert Parker and Claude G. Bryan, *Old Quebec, the Fortress of New France* (1903); and Benjamin Sulte, C. E. Fryer, and L. O. David, *A History of Quebec: Its Resources and People* (1908; 2 vols.). As the text itself reveals, HPL liberally consulted Francis Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (see n. 15) for the period of the French and Indian Wars. Of actual guidebooks, HPL cites three (see nn. 29–31).

HPL visited Quebec again in 1932 and 1933.

Notes

1. Everett McNeil (1861–1929), author of boys' books and friend of HPL; living in the Hell's Kitchen district of west-central Manhattan during the period of HPL's residence in Brooklyn (1924–26), he was a member of the Kalem Club. Among his historical novels dealing with Canada or neighbouring regions are *Tonty of the Iron Hand* (1925), *Daniel Du Luth; or, Adventuring on the Great Lakes* (1926), and *The Shores of Adventure; or, Exploring in the New World with Jacques Cartier* (1929).

2. Harvard was founded in 1636.

3. Cf. a fictitious "Frenchman of Louis XIII's time named Pierre-Louis Montmagny" cited in "The Shadow out of Time" (1934–35): *The Shadow out of Time*, ed. S. T. Joshi and David E. Schultz (New York: Hippocampus Press, 2003), p. 57. Previous texts (e.g., DH 396) have read "Montagny."

4. At the battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.E.), a narrow pass linking Greece with Thessaly, the Greeks under Leonidas inflicted heavy losses on the invading Persians and, with an army of 300 Spartans, died heroically to the last man.

5. Alfred Galpin had attended Lawrence College in Appleton, Wis., about 40 miles southwest of Green Bay. In 1932 he returned to Lawrence College as an instructor.

6. "Bishop of Petraea in the lands of the infidels."

7. HPL means the Albany Congress, a meeting of the representatives of seven of the British colonies in North America held in June–July 1754 in Albany, New York, to plan military, political, and economic strategy in preparation for the Seven Years' War (French and Indian War), 1756–63. He cites it also in "The Lurking Fear" (1922; D 191).

8. See Whittier's "St. John" (1841) and Longfellow's "The Student's Second Tale: The Baron of St. Castine" (*Tales of a Wayside Inn*).

9. Increase Mather (1639–1723). The quotation has not been identified.

10. Cotton Mather (1663–1728), *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Book VII, Appendix, Article VIII. HPL owned a first edition (LL 598). *Delenda est Carthago* ("Carthage must be destroyed") was repeatedly uttered by Cato the Elder (Marcus Porcius Cato, 234–149 B.C.E.) in the course of the Punic Wars, which ended in 202 B.C.E. with Carthage's defeat (but not its destruction).

11. "Old Style (Calendar)," referring to the fact that Great Britain did not convert to the Gregorian calendar (which was eleven days ahead of the Julian calendar and began the new year on 1 January rather than on 25 March) until 1752. Cf. *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* (MM 149).

12. The French city of Calais, conquered by the English in 1347, became the last remaining piece of French territory controlled by England. It fell to French forces in 1558. Queen Mary ruled from 1553 to 1558.

13. Mather, *Magnalia*, Book II, Appendix ("Pietas in Patriam").

14. See Joseph Addison, *Spectator* No. 50 (27 April 1711).

15. Francis Parkman (1823–1893), *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851), ch. 5. HPL owned this landmark work by a leading American historian (LL 674).

16. See William Shirley (1694–1771), *Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731–1760* (1912; LL 801).

17. Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864), "Famous Old People" (Section VIII), *Grandfather's Chair: A History for Youth* (1841; LL 401).

18. HPL repeats this anecdote about Jonathan E. Hoag (see "Observations on Several Parts of America," n. 17) at SL 5.372.

19. Gray, *Elegy* (1751), l. 36.

20. Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, ch. 5.

21. Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy (1812–1878), *The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, from Marathon to Waterloo* (1851). HPL owned a 1908 ed. (LL 208), which included descriptions of several more battles, including Quebec, written by an anonymous historian.

22. William Kirby (1817–1906), *The Golden Dog (Le Chien d'Or): A Romance of the Days of Louis Quinze in Quebec* (1897).

23. Parkman, *Parkman, The Old Régime in Canada* (1874), ch. 24.

24. "From sea to sea."

25. "Courage gave [them] a joint death, history gave [them] fame, posterity gave [them] a monument."

26. Later Edward VIII (1894–1972; r. 1936), who abdicated in order to marry a divorcee, Mrs. Wallis Simpson, thereby becoming the Duke of Windsor. His visit to Quebec occurred in 1919, not 1923.

27. "[Quebec is] strong by nature, [and it] grows by industry."

28. Sir Michael Ernest Sadler (1861–1943), British educational pioneer and master of University College, Oxford (1923–34). His remark has not been located.

29. Frank Carrel (1870–1940), *Guide to the City of Québec* (1899). The 1929 edition, which HPL probably consulted, gives *Carrel's Illustrated Guide and Map of Québec* on the cover.

30. Not located.

31. *Quebec (Canada): How to See It*. A 1933 edition has been located, but earlier editions probably exist.

32. François-Xavier Garneau (1809–1866), the greatest writer of nineteenth-century French Canada and its leading historian. His *Histoire du Canada* was published in 3 volumes in 1845–48; a supplement was issued in 1852.

33. I.e., "Georgius Rex" (King George [IV]).

34. A St. Stanislaus' church is mentioned as being in Arkham in "The Dreams in the Witch House" (1932; MM 271, 298).

35. William Dean Howells (1837–1920), *A Chance Acquaintance* (1873), a novel telling in part of a boat trip along the St. Lawrence and into Quebec.

36. "Francis I, King of the French, rules by the grace of God."